

VOTES FOR WOMEN

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"FIVE YEARS' PENAL SERVITUDE"



MRS. MARY LEIGH



MISS GLADYS EVANS

"If no instructions had ever been issued in political crises to the people of this country, except to remember to hate violence and love order and exercise patience, the liberties of this country would never have been attained."—The Right Hon. Wm. EWART GLADSTONE.

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To the brave women who to-day are fighting for freedom: to the noble women who all down the ages kept the flag flying and looked forward to this day without seeing it: to all women all over the world, of whatever race, or creed, or calling, whether they be with us or against us in this fight, we dedicate this paper.

THE OUTLOOK

The Dublin trial has resulted in the conviction of Mrs. Leigh, Mrs. Baines and Miss Gladys Evans, and the acquittal of Miss Mabel Capper. The sentence of five years' penal servitude inflicted upon Mrs. Leigh and Miss Gladys Evans ushers in the final stage of the struggle for Votes for Women. By meting out punishment of such appalling severity the Government have created a situation which they themselves know cannot last. Even they realise that women cannot be sent for years to convict prisons as the alternative to giving them the Vote. These gamblers have made a last desperate throw of the

dice, and they have lost. In other words, they have gone to the extreme limit of coercion in the hope that it would put an end to the militant agitation and thus avert the necessity of granting votes to women. Their offer made through the judge that if militancy is abandoned the sentence of five years' penal servitude shall be remitted is proof of our contention. The Government have speculated upon the fear of the militants. But the militants have no fear, and, therefore, instead of ending militancy, the Government find themselves driven to choose between Votes for Women and penal servitude for women. Mrs. Pankhurst's message to the members of the Women's Social and Political Union, which appears in this issue, is at the same time a challenge to the Government. She is determined, and we believe many others are equally determined, to try conclusions with the Government when Parliament reassembles. Mrs. Pankhurst's message will prove that it is beyond human power to stop militancy except by doing justice.

The Hunger Strike

In the meantime, there will be unrelenting effort to secure the release of the three prisoners, not by any form of compromise, but by pressure upon the authorities. The sentence imposed upon Mrs. Baines, though so much lighter than the sentence upon her companions, is nevertheless very unjust. As the *Irish Citizen* points out:—

The offence to which Mrs. Baines pleaded guilty, and of which alone, therefore, the judge could take cognisance in sentencing her—all other charges being withdrawn by

the Crown—was that of "malicious damage exceeding £5," the very same offence of which Miss Lloyd, Miss Webb, Miss Houston, and Miss Hasler were convicted a month ago. Any difference between the two cases is in Mrs. Baines' favour, inasmuch as the hour at which the offences of the Irish prisoners were committed is deemed, in law, an aggravation of the offence. Yet the few Irish prisoners are first-class misdemeanants, while Mrs. Baines is sentenced to hard labour.

Mrs. Leigh, Miss Evans, and Mrs. Baines, upon entering prison, claimed the rights of political offenders, and announced that if within one week these rights were not conceded they would adopt the hunger strike. Certain of the Irish Suffragists now in prison have chivalrously decided to resort to a sympathetic hunger strike, although they themselves are in enjoyment of all the rights of political offenders.

The Dublin Trial

The counsel for the prosecution in the Dublin trial left nothing unsaid or undone to influence the jury to convict the prisoners. Not content with dwelling on the facts, they expatiated at length on the "might have beens" of the situation. The language used by them would have done more than justice to the most startling outrages of the Irish political history of the past. But both the speeches for the prosecution and the judge's remarks seem to betray the fact that the pestering of Cabinet Ministers weighs more heavily with the Government than any supposed danger to the ordinary public. Mr. Seymour Bushe, one of the counsel representing the Crown, drew attention to the fact that "of late, Mr. Asquith,

whenever he appears, unhappy man! in any place of public or private resort, is pursued by a troop of lady Suffragists, just as you see a hawk pursued by a troop of jackdaws." Said the judge: "The terrible danger in which Cabinet Ministers stand is a matter of notoriety at present." The charge of throwing the hatchet, to which these remarks had reference, has been held over until the Autumn Sessions.

Mr. Healy's Defence of Miss Evans

Mr. Healy, M.P., who defended Miss Gladys Evans, made, in the course of his speech, a magnificent political vindication of militancy. "I am sorry to say," he declared, "that Parliament never listens to the voice of any unrepresented part of the community until outrages and crime have proved the seriousness of their demand." With great eloquence he described the motives of his client and her companions, "who see perishing before their eyes, year after year, an army of immolation, who see a traffic in human beings, a traffic in young girls, whose lives are destroyed and blasted, who are dishonoured, and to rescue whom the Government of this country never lifts a finger." Such provocation as this, added to the incitements to arson which a member of the Cabinet has uttered, were, he maintained, the cause of Suffragist militancy. He maintained that the Dublin protest had been first tried by the newspapers, which had grossly exaggerated it. He ended on a warning note, saying, "The sooner the public make up their mind to settle this question, the sooner such incidents will become part of the history of the past."

Mrs. Leigh's Defence

Mrs. Leigh's defence will be long remembered in Dublin. Her conduct of the case was truly magnificent. It compelled the admiration even of the Attorney-General and the counsel acting with him, who congratulated Mrs. Leigh on her clever cross-examination, and upon her wit and eloquence, and described her as "a woman of rare and peculiar intelligence." The judge also offered his tribute to her by saying, "This is not the time or place to pay compliments, but this lady is a very remarkable lady, of very great ability, and of very strong character." Such a triumph did she achieve that the first jury disagreed, and she had to be tried over again. The second jury returned a verdict of guilty, but many in the Court were in tears—so greatly had her pleading moved them; and the judge himself was visibly overcome with emotion.

The Judge's Address

The judge's address to the prisoners we have discussed fully elsewhere, but we may here observe that his advice to use lawful methods of obtaining Woman Suffrage is nicely calculated to have an effect the very reverse of that intended. Indeed, we would inform all judicial persons, whether judges or magistrates, that their avowed ignorance of the fact that lawful methods have been pursued by Suffragists for over forty years past is in itself an inducement to the adoption of those militant methods, whose use becomes known to them and to all the world.

The Government in Peril

The result of the Dublin trial was known just in time to influence the result of the election in North-West Manchester. The vigorous campaign of the W.S.P.U. in that constituency had prepared the minds of the electors to receive that news with understanding. The sentence of five years' penal servitude sealed the fate of the Liberal candidate, and in numbers which upset the calculations of the Liberal and Unionist organisers alike the electors voted against Mr. Gordon Hewart. The Government are certainly in a position of great danger. The resignation of their Chief Whip is proof of that. In spite of all the conflicting reasons officially alleged for his resignation, his is a sheer case of leaving the sinking ship. Rank and file Liberal M.P.'s who really show greater independence of spirit than some of whom more independence might be expected are losing all enthusiasm for the task in hand, and but for the Labour and Nationalist M.P.'s the Government would have been overthrown by now. Unless the Government can restore confidence and inspire the Liberal Party with a new enthusiasm, this Parliament will soon be at an end. An announcement that Votes for Women will be made a Government measure would transform the situation, but unless that announcement is forthcoming nothing can restore the Government to health.

Press Comments upon the Sentence

Perhaps the most intelligent of the newspaper comments upon the Dublin protest is that made by the *Globe*, which says:—

Nothing can excuse outrages; but if anything could excuse them it would be action of the kind taken of late by the Radical Party. . . . Mr. Asquith has recourse to a trick by bringing in the Franchise Bill, one of whose objects, as has been clear to everybody since its introduction, is to render the female franchise impossible. No more contemptible political game has ever been played. That, combined with Mr. Hobhouse's taunt that the Suffragists had not yet resorted to violence, is a direct incentive to violence. It is a means of manufacturing militants out of non-militants, an unchivalrous, unstatesmanlike, and ungentlemanlike procedure.

We are not surprised to find some of the newspapers saying that the sentence of five years' penal servitude is not excessive, for we know that if it had been five times five years these newspapers would have said precisely the same thing. The editorial comments of the daily Press upon questions of vital human import cannot be taken seriously, for newspaper editors, besides being mouthpieces of the political parties, are men who have very little first-hand knowledge either of what is going on in the world or of the motives that animate ordinary human beings. Thus they are actually capable of asserting that harsh punishment is the way to put an end to rebellion. Militant Suffragists have always treated newspaper scolding with contempt.

Attitude of the Manchester Guardian

A really sad case, however, is that of Mr. C. P. Scott, the editor of the *Manchester Guardian*, for we should have expected better things of him. The comments upon recent militancy and upon the Dublin trial and sentence which have appeared in the *Manchester Guardian* are both prejudiced and vindictive, and are a grave discredit to a respectable newspaper, especially to one professing the principles of Liberalism. Without saying one word in condemnation of the Government's treacherous dealing with the Suffrage question, the *Manchester Guardian* denounces recent militancy as criminal. Yet with startling inconsistency it says:—

Nobody denies the right of revolt against intolerable social wrong for which redress can be obtained in no other way. But militancy is a preposterous travesty on anything which in the past could justly be described in that way. The whole process of irritating and futile violence which goes by that name is as degrading to a great political movement as it is utterly ineffectual for securing the end at which it aims.

These are dangerously provocative words, for they are in effect a challenge to more drastic militancy. During all the years of constitutional agitation, during which Mrs. Wolstenholme Elmy, Lydia Becker, and other pioneers were working for the Vote, it was the settled policy of the *Manchester Guardian* to boycott the question of Woman Suffrage. With the adoption of militancy came the breaking down of that boycott. But it is to be feared that the *Manchester Guardian*, putting party before principle, is falling back into evil courses now that the Liberal Government are making their last desperate stand against the enfranchisement of women.

Nationalists Declare War upon Women

A leading article in the *Freeman's Journal*, the organ of the Nationalist Party, makes it perfectly clear that Mr. Redmond and his followers have decided in pursuance of an understanding with the Prime Minister to kill any and every unofficial Woman Suffrage Amendment to the "Reform" Bill. After declaring that "it is the plain duty of Mr. Redmond to see that the embarrassments that make more difficult the task of the Ministers who have charged themselves with the restoring to Ireland her domestic freedom are as few as possible," the *Freeman's Journal* says:—

There is not the smallest doubt that Unionists hope to make the Prime Minister's position untenable by carrying an amendment to the Franchise Bill. In the circumstances the duty of Mr. Redmond is manifest. Should the Irish leader and his colleagues think that the carriage of such an amendment would disrupt the Government, or even weaken it by compelling the resignation of any of its important members who would feel themselves forced to refuse personal responsibility for a measure which they regard as "a political disaster of the gravest kind," their simple duty is to defeat the amendment if they can.

As Mr. Brailsford has told us, the threat of Government disruption was used by Anti-Suffragist Ministers to make Nationalist as well as Liberal M.P.'s vote against the Conciliation Bill. The *Freeman's Journal* explicitly states that the Nationalists are prepared to repeat upon the women's amendments the action taken on the Conciliation Bill, and to repeat it as "a solid and united party." We therefore know that the entire Nationalist vote of 76 will be cast against these amendments. That is why women must fight to the death for a Government measure which the Nationalists in self-defence must support.

Labour's Bad Bargain

Is the Trade Union Bill, which legalises the payment of election expenses out of Trade Union funds, the price of Labour's support of the Liberal Government? If so, the Government have bought that support very cheaply, and Labour has made an exceedingly bad bargain. The bargain is a bad one not so much because the Trade Union Bill falls short of the Labour Party's demand, but because no such measure, however complete, will be an adequate achievement for a party which, by its possession of

forty-one votes in the House of Commons, has the power of life and death over the Government. If at the end of this Parliament the Labour M.P.'s have nothing more to their credit than an Act to finance their own candidates, they will fare very badly at the General Election. Money they will have in plenty, but they will fail to get the votes of the electors. There is money enough to be obtained from voluntary sources for a Labour Party which justifies its existence, but there are no votes for a Labour Party which is a mere hanger-on of the Liberal Party, and, instead of insisting upon legislation of national importance, is content to accept as its share of the "spoils" a measure providing money to pay its own election bills. When will the Labour Party make good its claim to that title by compelling the Government to enfranchise the poorest, that is to say, the women workers of the country?

The Necessities of the Case

The *Labour Leader*, attempting to answer the criticism of the Labour Members, says:—

Black and white politics are melodramatic, unreal and untrue. They substitute illusion for reality. Nothing can free the Labour Members from using their judgment on the issues that arise in Parliament and from voting in accordance with the necessities of the case.

This is all very obscure! Does our contemporary prefer to "black and white politics" politics that are muddy-grey in hue? We should like information as to what is meant by the "necessities of the case." In the eyes of Mr. MacDonald, the Labour Chairman, the necessity of the case seems to be the necessity of keeping this Government in office, quite irrespective of the nature of the Government's programme. There are two conceivable policies for the Labour Members, but neither of these do they adopt. One is to vote in each Division strictly according to the merits of the particular question at issue in that Division and regardless of whether the Government will be defeated or not. The Labour Members do not act on that principle, and it will be remembered that Mr. MacDonald led them into the Division lobby to vote against the establishment of a single chamber in Ireland simply in order that the Government might not be defeated. The alternative policy is to give general support to the Government, even if in minor matters their policy is not acceptable, upon condition that the Government shall carry into law certain specific reforms. That is Mr. Redmond's policy. But it is not the policy of the Labour Members, who support this Government without stipulating for the enfranchisement of working women or any other great measure of reform.

Lord Robert Cecil

Militant Suffragists do not admit the broad distinction drawn by Lord Robert Cecil, in his recent communication to the *Standard*, between Ulster's threatened resistance to Home Rule and recent Suffragist militancy. Both involve some degree of violence, but the violence threatened by Ulster is far greater than the violence which has been done by women. Ulster, we are told, will make armed resistance, whereas the militant women have made unarmed resistance. What is the moral difference between the two? If anything, the moral advantage is surely with the women! Yet Lord Robert Cecil seems dimly to suggest that the fact of being armed carries with it some moral sanction. When Ulster men take up arms, whom are they going to shoot? Tax-collectors, that part of the public which happens to be Nationalist, Members of the Irish Parliament, or British Cabinet Ministers? To this question no answer is as yet forthcoming. The whole matter is wrapped in mystery. The one thing certain is that when the Ulster rebellion begins, someone is going to be killed. Lord Robert Cecil does not quite like the idea of this, but still he thinks that it must happen if the Government persist in the attempt to carry Home Rule. His condemnation is reserved exclusively for militant Suffragists, who have neither killed nor announced their intention of killing anybody at all.

Speaking of the Suffragist campaign, Lord Robert Cecil says that if loss of life ensues, the militant leaders will be morally responsible for it. The militants, in their turn, take leave to say that if loss of life ensues in Ulster, Lord Robert Cecil and his leader, Mr. Bonar Law, will be morally responsible for that. Lord Robert Cecil's view is that the only possible justification of rebellion is success. This is indeed a strange doctrine! Militant Suffragists believe that if rebellion is undertaken in a bad cause, not even success will justify it, whereas if it is undertaken in a good cause, it is a thousand times justified, whether it succeeds or not.

This Week's Paper

This week's paper is full of interest. We draw our readers' attention especially to the full report of the Dublin Trial, to the biographical sketches of Mrs. Leigh and Miss Gladys Evans, and to our view of the political situation in the leading article. For lighter reading, an admirable story by G. Colmore will be found on page 743. We regret that the promised article on "Women and the Divorce Laws" has been crowded out, but we hope to print it next week, when the paper will also contain a story by Henry W. Nevinnson, called "An Albanian Militant," which will have a special significance in view of the present critical situation in the Near East.

MR. JONES AND THE GOVERNESS

By G. Colmore, author of "Suffragette Sally," &c.

"Women indeed!" said Mr. Jones. "I call them hussies."

The three little girls, who had round, well-fed faces like their father's, looked up; the governess, who was pale and rather small, looked down, and continued to eat her stewed fruit and milk pudding.

"Papa, dear," said Dorothy, "what is a hussie?"

"A hussie is a—is a—is a woman who, instead of being womanly, is a forward minx. Am I not correct, Miss Taylor?"

"I cannot be certain that that is Johnson's definition," answered the governess, "but I will look it up after lunch."

"Oh, hang Johnson!" said Mr. Jones. "Do you agree with me or not?"

"Certainly; I should say that hussie and forward minx are fairly synonymous terms."

The rubicund face of Mr. Jones took on an expression half irritated, half puzzled; he knew the point on which he wished to have the governess's opinion—possibly the governess knew it too—but he could not succeed in putting his questions so as to draw that opinion forth; he was not good at putting things. The late Mrs. Jones had responded to what he meant to say rather than to what he said; the governess—confound her!—responded to nothing except inquiries as to the children's progress. He had understood the late Mrs. Jones—or thought he had; he was hanged if he understood the governess. But he had perseverance, and he tried again.

"To be pestered in the streets by hussies and minxes, some of them mere girls, to buy their outrageous paper—I call it derogatory to womanhood." He felt that he had come upon an oasis of language in a desert of inexpressible ideas, and repeated the happy phrase. "Derogatory to womanhood. I feel sure, Miss Taylor, that you don't approve of such conduct."

Miss Taylor approved of nothing which was derogatory to womanhood; or to manhood either, she added, as she folded her table napkin. She had a decided way of folding her table napkin; it was as though she said: "Lunch and my conversation with my employer are at an end. My duty now is concerned solely with my employer's children." Mr. Jones felt—somehow she made him feel it—that it would not be the thing to detain her further; and as "the thing" was the practical embodiment of that which, on an anti-Disestablishment platform, he would have described as the God of his fathers, he could not persist in the conversation.

Left alone, doubt rose in his mind; it had risen before, but he had quelled it; he tried to quell it again. It was impossible that Miss Taylor should be a—a—. When asked by his brother-in-law what the governess was like he had replied that she was not pretty—which, of course, was unnecessary in a governess, but very feminine—which was supremely important. She was feminine; he didn't care; he knew a womanly woman when he saw her. It was quite impossible that she was a—a—. He struck a match. His little motherless girls—puff, puff—were quite safe. He had always been a judge of character—puff, puff; he was sure she was not a—a—. And the cigar was a deuced good one.

Mr. Jones was in his study; it was half-past five o'clock. Miss Taylor went at half-past five, after the children's tea; he heard her step now upon the stair; a step that stopped this evening when it reached the study door. She was standing before him. Thank you, she would rather not sit; she had come to say that she must give up her post.

Why—surely—what fault had she to find?

No fault, but she was quite strong now, and fit to take a hand again.

Mr. Jones begged her pardon; he didn't understand; a hand at what? What had been the matter with her? Tuberculosis flashed into his mind, and he tried to recall the latest scientific pronouncements on it. Did you get it from milk or from other people—or was it rats? He couldn't for the life of him remember. Anyhow, it was very deceptive of Miss Taylor—not at all the thing—

"I was knocked up after prison and the forcible feeding."

His two questions and all his doubts were answered at one fell swoop. He nearly choked. "Do you mean to tell me that a—that you—that I—my children in the care of a—a—?"

"You need not be afraid. I have treated them as shamefully as even you could desire; I have left them in complete ignorance of our movement and what it means."

She was gone. Mr. Jones sat helpless; it was far, far worse than tuberculosis. That would not have been at all the thing; but this—that she was, after all, a—a—. He could not bring himself even now to say the horrid word; she had seemed so feminine.

It was some months before he saw her again; there

had been no occasion to see her, since, as she had intimated to him, she was not going governessing any more, and was consequently in no need of a reference. It was in November that he ran across her; in the evening, towards eight o'clock, when right-minded women were safely sheltered in the home; and in the neighbourhood—God bless his soul!—of Piccadilly. He felt bound to stop and tell her that she had no business to be where she was. On the contrary, the little ex-governess told him, in just the same quiet voice in which she had spoken of Johnson's dictionary, and with just the same modest eyes, on the contrary, she had very important business; not in this particular street, but within a short distance of it.

"Do you not realise," said Mr. Jones, "that it is not the—er—the thing for you to be here?"

"The thing that I am here for," she replied, "makes my presence imperative."

"At—a—at this hour—getting on t—to—"

"The hour and the woman are necessary the one to the other," said Miss Taylor.

"There is but one kind of woman—," began Mr. Jones.

"Oh, don't be afraid! We Suffragettes are at the other end of the pole. We are out for the salvation of women, not for the vices of men. Good-night, Mr. Jones." She had no shame, he told himself. To dare to mention—! And all the time to look and speak so unlike a—a—.

It was a tremendous crash. Mr. Jones, in common with many another, wondered what on earth had happened; in common with many another, rushed towards Piccadilly Circus to find out. He was in time to see his ex-governess led away by two policemen amidst an excited crowd. There were other women, escorted in like manner, but Mr. Jones saw only the one. That one did not see him. Did she see anybody, anything? He wondered. The eyes he had thought modest looked, if they looked at all, at something far away, something—the thought flashed into the mind of Mr. Jones—something beautiful. The thought flashed like lightning in a dark place, and, like lightning, in less than a moment, was gone; it was followed by a thunder of disapproval that roared and rolled all the way home, that rumbled and muttered all the evening through. She had looked modest, she had spoken quietly; and she—she—had attacked—actually attacked—oh, shade of "the thing"!—property.

She got six weeks, with hard labour. Serve her right, said Mr. Jones, and told himself and everybody he came across that she richly deserved it; only in speaking to the many who agreed with him, he put her in the plural and called her "those women." Somehow he could not bring himself to single her out for condemnation; grossly as she had deceived him, hussy and minx as she had proved herself to be, he did not speak her separate name either at dinner tables or in smoking-rooms. He told his brother-in-law that he was ashamed to think he had ever had such a woman in the house; he told himself that prison was the only place for women like her, and that he was jolly glad to think of her as being there. Somehow he thought of her a good deal as being there. In one way it didn't seem altogether suitable, for he would have taken his oath she wasn't strong—but she deserved it; false as well as degraded, as she had shown herself to be, it would do her a thundering lot of good. It was a bore that the thought of her in a cell was apt to come when he was halfway through his cigar; but all the same, to say that prison was rough on refined women—why it was her—their own fault if she—they went there.

He was walking down the Strand, past the place where many months before had occurred the experience that had caused him to break forth at the luncheon table into a diatribe against women paper sellers. There was a woman there now selling papers, a woman young and pretty, a mere girl, and as Mr. Jones passed her, she asked him, as the other woman had asked him, to take a paper. On that former day he had pushed the seller and her paper aside; to-day he hesitated, stopped—and took it.

"Thank you. It's only a penny."

Mr. Jones put his hand into his pocket and brought out, he hardly knew how, he hardly knew why, a half-sovereign.

"Thank you." The girl looked down at her hand. "Oh, thank you! You are a friend, then, of the Cause?"

Mr. Jones did not answer; he hurried on; he was half ashamed of what he had done, half surprised that he had done it. He had acted on an impulse that sprang he knew not whence, been moved by a feeling rooted in he knew not what; and he was hardly aware that he had given his gold penny, neither to the Cause nor to the girl who represented it, but to a pale little governess in prison.



In this column we propose, during the holiday season, when VOTES FOR WOMEN touches a new circle of readers, to answer some of the questions that present themselves to the minds of those not yet convinced of the urgency of Woman Suffrage.

Question 1.—On Census night, according to the newly published returns, out of 1,357 inmates of certified inebriate reformatories and retreats, only 304 were men. In face of this enormous preponderance of female drunkards, should women be given the powers and responsibilities of voters?

Answer.—In the first place, what right has any one to propose a moral test for women that is not set up for men? If it were proved, as it can be proved, that women as a whole are far less intemperate than men, will our critics then propose the entire disfranchisement of the male sex? In the second place, the above figures are misleading, seeing that the latest Report of the Prison Commissioners shows that in the year ending March 31, 1911, 33,495 males were imprisoned for drunkenness, or drunkenness with aggravations, as against 15,563 females. In the Report of the Inspector of Inebriate Reformatories and Retreats, published in 1911, this disparity between the number of men convicted of drunkenness and the number sentenced to detention in institutions is attributed to three causes: (1) The fuller accommodation for women in such places; (2) the reluctance of magistrates to commit men, who are presumably family bread-winners, to long periods of detention; and (3) the greater excitability of women under the influence of drink, which leads to their getting into trouble more quickly than men. Probably the second cause is the most potent, and in that case it affords a fresh instance of the privileges and immunities extended to men as husbands and fathers without regard to the way in which their corresponding duties are performed.

Question 2.—Why are not women content with the municipal vote?

Answer.—The whole position of women municipal voters depends on Parliament, and may be altered without their consent. For instance, some years ago women had the right of election to school-boards and vestries, but when the duties of the former were merged into those of the County Councils and of the latter into those of Borough Councils, women (who then had not the right to sit on these larger councils) were deprived even of this right until another Act was passed in 1907 as a sop to the Suffragists, giving women the right of election to the Borough and County Councils. Thus an Act of Parliament, over which voteless women have no control, may at any moment alter their whole municipal position.

Question 3.—But for all that cannot they do much useful municipal work now?

Answer.—Their useful work is confined almost wholly to administering the Acts already passed by Parliament; that is to say, women must administer laws in which they have had no voice, and in which their point of view has never been considered. They are also handicapped by the fact that local elections are being run more and more on the lines of political party, and therefore, having no political status, they cannot command the same support as men who have the Parliamentary vote.

Question 4.—As the majority of women are concerned with the keeping of the home, why should they wish to interfere in politics?

Answer.—Politics have a direct and continuous influence on the home. Legislation tends more and more to interfere with home and family life, and in this legislation which concerns them so intimately women have no voice. To give a few instances, the Workmen's Compensation Act affects the relation between mistress and servant; so does the National Insurance Act; the food of the home is affected by Adulteration Acts; the mother's relationship to her children is affected by the Children Act, and by such Acts as deal with the education and feeding of children, the registration of children put out to nurse, and so on. Acts regulating the economic relation of husband and wife, Housing Acts, and many others deal directly with the home.

Question 5.—Will not women vote as their male relatives tell them to?

Answer.—Women who are foolish enough to do this will be balanced by men who are foolish enough to vote as their women relatives tell them. Neither foolishness nor wisdom is confined to one sex only.

TRIAL OF THE SUFFRAGISTS IN DUBLIN,

AUGUST 6-7, 1912

Magnificent Speeches for the Defence—Courage of the Prisoners

The following speech (of which we gave a brief summary last week) was made by Mrs. Leigh for her defence last Tuesday at the Commission Court, Dublin, and when, at the close of it, the jury retired to consider their verdict, they were unable to agree, and the case was therefore put back till the next day (Wednesday, August 7):—

MRS. LEIGH'S FIRST SPEECH

My Lord and Gentlemen of the Jury,—I am charged with having done a certain deed which would have caused confusion, and in the confusion life might have been lost. A great deal of the evidence to-day is distorted; a great deal of it has been created by forces over which a prisoner, who takes his place as I do, has not very much power. The one thing that I want to show is that we have not a really constitutional way of bringing forward those points which we have to bring forward to the public, and through the public to their masters, and through their masters to the Government—the powers that be; we have not the constitutional means which is within the grasp of every individual if he belongs to the male sex—it may even be given to a criminal, and to a lunatic, and to a pauper, and to an alien if he becomes naturalised—but it is not mine because I was born a woman. This is no fault of mine, nor is it any credit to those who constitute the male sex to be born men; but because I am a woman, that very fact, from my birth to my grave, if we have not won that constitutional means, will be a stigma which I have to fight against, and which has been upon all women since they were disfranchised through a legal quibble.

My lord, you said that motives were not taken into consideration, but nothing in this world can be done without motive. Your very presence here to-day has a motive behind it—that justice may be done. I want to say as quickly as possible that for nearly half a century women have tried by every means in their power to win their way to get within the pale of the Constitution. They have tried in the usual way of petitions, of education, propaganda, and by all other peaceful means. They have tried by demonstrating, by holding immense meetings; and I might say to those people who think that it is only to-day we have entered into this fight, that when Mr. Balfour was in power there was a petition sent to the House of Commons dealing with this question which brings us into this court—the enfranchisement of women—a petition in which the signatures were so numerous that it had to be brought in in batches. And if constitutional means are recognised in this country (and petitioning is one of the most constitutional of means), one would have thought that this would have sufficed. Instead of that we had to wait and go on working very hard; it was very expensive, took our strength, took years off our lives—we had to work until that power went out and another power came in. We approached that power, which was the present Liberal Government, which came in in 1906; and they were in with such a big majority at that time that they could have passed any measure that came before them, and surely our claim to the franchise should have met with some kind of response from them. But it did not, and although we had worked all that time, and although we have records of the many women who had worked—I want for a moment to take you to the days of Lydia Becker, to the days of Josephine Butler, and of Elizabeth Fry, to the days of other women who made a stand for the upliftment of women, women who had to meet all the opposition, all the brunt, all the hostility—yet women never moved beyond the limits of moral force, and worked only in constitutional ways. So you see that half a century is a long time to forge along and try to wade through a forest which has grown to be so thick that you are hardly ever able to see the daylight through the top.

The Rise of Militancy

Well, five years ago we found that constitutional means, although they had done a lot, although they had paved the way, had not won us our reform. In 1905 we saw a little band of women, five in number—Mrs. Pankhurst, Miss Christabel Pankhurst, Mrs. Drummond, Mrs. Baines, and another woman—meet together in a little back room in Manchester, a place known as the bedrock of all reforms; and they decided—and they proved it by all the history they had read—that a woman outside the Constitution could not fight with constitutional means. And therefore they decided that something more must be done in order to establish the right to claim the independence and the emancipation of women; and they formed a new society, called the Women's Social and Political Union. They seceded from the old constitutional society, a society, my lord, which was in existence, shall I say in 1888?—even before that—and it is still in existence; it is called the National Union of Woman Suffrage Societies, and it numbers many well-

known names. These five women seceded from that society, having worked patiently, laboriously, to bring about this reform by constitutional means, and finding, according to history, that it could not be won if people were constitutional. In 1905 and onwards the work was doubled and trebled. The Women's Social and Political Union, of which I am a member, did more work in this country for the enfranchisement of women than has ever been done before or since. It was never known in the case of men for such work to be done, for such education to be gone through, and for such demonstrations to take place. In the year 1908 we held in Hyde Park one of the largest demonstrations that had ever been known: even that of 1867 could not come anywhere near the demonstration held by women in 1908, and in 1907 men who were demonstrating for the franchise went to extreme measures. We know that some of those measures were brought about by inadvertence on the part of those people in power, and we know that the Hyde Park railings were pulled down, that the fences were pulled out to get the mob in, and that the mob gained the day. We know that the Reform Bill of 1867 was precipitated by the action of those people.

The Teaching of History

Mr. Asquith said in his speech in the Theatre Royal that he was a humble student of history. It is not the duty of this gentleman to be humble, or even to be a student in history; he should be a past-master of history. We have had to make it our business to go into history and make researches to find out what particular ways there were of winning the reform for which we stand, and for which we are prepared, or, rather, I am prepared—I am going to speak now in the first person, for it is immaterial to me what any other woman in this country is prepared to do—prepared to go even to the same lengths as other reformers who have thought it better to stand for liberty than to stand for anything else; and I am prepared to fight my way to the vote, even if I have to follow in the footsteps of other reformers, who were rebels. If you have patience, I will go into Irish history.

The Judge: I am sure that a lady of your very great intelligence will realise that we are not concerned with a great many of these topics, interesting as they may be. It is not a question of patience at all. We are willing to listen, but—

Mrs. Leigh: But, my lord, I do submit to you that men who reach to any position at all ought to have at their finger tips the whole history of their country. If you were in danger of death, you would not trust your life to an inexperienced surgeon, you would get the very best surgeon to cure you. But I will not go into these things at any great length. Robert Emmett was charged with conspiracy, was charged with rebellion and incitement, and two thousand pikes and more than two thousand powder balls were found in Thomas Street, not very far from here, and we know that the offence for which the country of his day condemned him, that of rebellion, was committed in order to prompt men to work out their own salvation. And from Robert Emmett we go on to many other rebels. The Attorney-General, in the beginning, mentioned the probable loss of life as murder. Why he should have chosen that definition of our action I shall have to study to find out. We have shown that there has not been a thimbleful of blood spilt during the course of our campaign, on the part of our enemy; the blood has all been shed on our side. I want to say that Robert Emmett—

The Judge again interrupted to say that nothing caused him greater pain than to interrupt a counsel or prisoner, but asked her to consider what all this had to do with the case.

Mrs. Leigh: Everything, my lord, everything. I have to-day to remember that I am in Ireland, and as half an Irishwoman it has been my duty to find out all these details in order to establish a certain parallel. I find that I am charged, according to the Attorney-General, with trying to blow up a building, trying to raze it to the ground, trying to bring such confusion in this country that it will be impossible for people to walk about safely. Therefore it is my duty to submit these details to you, although I have to encroach rather on your patience. I want to say that the whole history of Ireland is one which leads the women who are taking part in this fight to adopt these methods. I want to point out that from 1803 to the day when Parnell introduced into the House of Commons a more satisfactory means of strategy than the means which were used of murdering people, and which brought them into the Courts of Justice, there are many instances of such methods. I notice that one man named John O'Leary had to serve a sentence in the very prison from which I have come, and many other men have seen the inside of Mountjoy Prison. We are dealing to-day with the enfranchisement of women, and in order to win the enfranchisement of women we are occupying the same position that these

men took up. Therefore, it is necessary to point out some of these things so that the people who are taking their orders from the Crown may realise, if they can, that it is no new thing which I to-day am taking part in. It is something which has been done before; it is something which is repeated through history, and has always been repeated. It has been repeated time after time by men who have no constitutional means of defence, and repeated also by men who hold the key to constitutional rights.

The Attorney-General made reference to the fact that we followed Mr. Asquith here, and by doing so he inferred that we had no right to follow Mr. Asquith into this country, and to introduce into this country this element of disorder. I wish to point out that Mr. Asquith is not a private individual; Mr. Asquith is, indeed, the first Minister of the Crown. He is a public servant. In fact, he is a public hireling. He is paid from the public funds, and to the public funds women contribute at least half the money. They contribute it through their rent, through their rates, through their taxes, and they contribute it with their service, and in many other ways. Therefore, they have a right to follow their servant to see that their servant does his work for which he is paid. And I might point out that only by following Mr. Asquith into Ireland, and elsewhere, and keeping as close to him as his own shadow, are we ever able to bring it home to him that we are part of the community, and that we are fighting for our existence.

Mrs. Leigh then referred to the Peamount Sanatorium, and to the work done by certain women in fighting consumption; but on the Judge objecting to her mentioning the names of individuals, she proceeded:—

Well, may I say that there are five and a half million un-named workers in the Labour market? They are earning their living, some of them in a very hard and difficult way, and they have to work under conditions over which they have no control, and under laws which have been made for them by men who have no conception of the work they are doing. I will give you one instance. Some girls are working in a certain factory for 4s. 8d. a week, turning out every week thousands of men's shirts—all kinds, from the plain butcher's shirt to the daintiest of frilled shirts which any dainty popinjay may put upon him at night—and no matter how hard they work they could not earn more. I have worked in that factory. That is only one particular instance, and it is only one part of the economic question that I have brought before you to-day. You won't allow me to go into the political aspect, although I will say, referring to Bristol in 1832, when the city was one big flare; to the Battle of Peterloo in 1819; and to the outrages in Nottingham and Birmingham and here in Ireland; also to the Fenian outrage in Manchester in 1878—I must say these things were the result of men's fight for the vote, and the women's economic problem will take its rightful place only when women are able to press these things forward through the medium of the Vote.

Government without Consent

Gentlemen of the jury, I want to say that I refuse to be governed by a Government that denies me the constitutional means of expressing my views. I rebel, and shall continue to rebel, against the system of government which compels me to be, and to remain, in the same category as an alien, as paupers, and as lunatics, who are denied the vote. Those people are the only people who are compelled to remain outside the Constitution. I am classed with them, and although these people, if they recover or are naturalised, may have a right to vote, such a thing has been denied to me. Therefore, just as people in the past have always had to take a stand which has brought them within the pale of justice, it is my turn now to take my stand before you, and his lordship has committed to you the very serious task of deciding whether I am really guilty of these charges against me. In fact, he washes his hands of a certain amount of the responsibility and puts it upon your shoulders. Therefore I want to put it to you that if you know anything at all about the history of your own country, or England, or any other country—even the late Boer War of South Africa, when men won their independence by militant methods, and by methods much more destructive than anything that has ever been done by women—I want you to remember that even on the night when this happened, which I am supposed to have brought about, nothing that happened then could bear comparison with anything that has been done by men in the same position. Nothing that women have done can be brought into comparison, if you include the very worst deeds that women have done, with what men have done.

I want to end with a little quotation—"To know all is to understand all," and if you know all, gentlemen of the jury, then you will know why I am an outlaw,

and as an outlaw I come face to face with men whose fathers or grandfathers cannot show a clean slate in any part of their country. You, gentlemen of the jury, have your votes to-day through the wilful murders which your forefathers did in order to give you the franchise. If you doubt me, spend some of your leisure time in reading up your own history. We have done no wrong in the eyes of any Irishman or in the eyes of any other man in this country when you look at it in the right way. To know all is to understand all, and if you understand in my case, as I hope you do, then let each man of you use his own faculties and draw his own conclusions, and being convinced of what he thinks is right, then let him give his verdict. And if there is any man amongst you that is guiltless of any militant act in his life, let him be the man to say that I shall be given my punishment. I put it to you that the whole liberty of the world has been won by rebellion, and that those people outside the Constitution cannot afford to be constitutional.

I have had my say, my lord.

SECOND DAY'S HEARING

On Wednesday, August 7, before a new jury, the trial of the English Suffragettes for conspiracy, setting fire to, attempting to set fire to, and causing an explosion in the Theatre Royal on the occasion of the recent visit of the Prime Minister to Dublin, was resumed. On the previous day Miss Gladys Evans had been found guilty on this charge; the jury disagreed in the case of Mrs. Mary Leigh, who was again arraigned on the same indictment; Mrs. Lizzie Baker (Mrs. Baines) pleaded guilty to a minor offence under the Malicious Damage to Property Act; and in the case of Miss Mabel Capper, the Crown decided to enter a nolle prosequi, and she was discharged. Miss Evans and Mrs. Baker had been put back for sentence until next day.

Very deep interest was again manifested in the proceedings, and long before Mr. Justice Madden sat at 11 o'clock every seat in the Courthouse was occupied. Prominent amongst the attendance were a large body of Suffragettes and sympathisers with the movement.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL'S SPEECH

After the jury were sworn, the Attorney-General, with whom were Messrs. Seymour Bushe, K.C., Dudley White, K.C., and Gerald Horan (instructed by Sir Malachy Kelly, Chief Crown Solicitor), who appeared to prosecute, stated the case against the prisoner. The offence was a grave one, and it was his duty, he said, to make clear to the minds of the jury its nature, and to dwell upon the certainty of the proofs which would be laid before them to connect the prisoner with the crime. The lives and property of the citizens of Dublin were endangered on July 18, owing to the acts of the prisoner, the fabric of the Theatre Royal having been exposed to being burned, and the lives of some of their citizens, who were in it at the time, placed in danger by the prisoner and a confederate. She was equally guilty with the other, even though it was not her hand that caused the explosion in the building, for if they were in concert, and their acts could be traced as a result of that concert and combination, each of them was equally guilty, and identification, even of one of them as distinct from the other, was not essential, because the pre-conceived intention to do the damage was shown. It was not pleasant, but painful in the last degree, that he should have to prosecute on behalf of the public and the citizens of Dublin the lady who was in the dock, and it could not be pleasant for the jury to do it either, but they should do it, because nothing could excuse the acts which were committed on that night.

The Course of Justice

No motive could palliate them, and in that City of Dublin they could not feel safe, and they could not feel any security for their houses, nor with regard to their families frequenting places of public entertainment, if for one second they allowed sympathy or any feeling of kindness to interfere with the course of justice. The question of drawing attention to some particular propaganda or some particular views held by some subjects of the Crown, nor the appeal to great names, should not shake the jury from the path which they were bound to pursue of justice. It was inconceivable and unthinkable that the people of Dublin, who had no quarrel with any of those propagandists, should have their own lives or the lives of their children and wives endangered, and vast property in the city made liable to destruction. The Nihilist who threw a bomb into a theatre at least hated all law, order, and humanity, but on this night the prisoner, in conjunction with another, saturated with oil and combustible material portions of the Theatre Royal which were near the stage, and nothing but the promptness of the assistants prevented its destruction. On that occasion, too, her confederate caused an explosion and a fire in the theatre, and these acts were done in pursuance of a common arrangement and plan.

It was a stretched and wicked transaction. The one object of those people in coming to Dublin on this occasion was to do evil; and once it was demonstrated that the parties had a common object in view it was not necessary that identification should be proved. In this case what struck one as much as its wickedness was the carelessness with which the plans were carried out to commit this crime against the citizens of Dublin, but the organised attempt did not stop there. They poured a fluid, such as petrol or benzine, on the seats of the chairs, which were like a gigantic lamp wick, and the prisoner hurled one of these in a blazing state into the auditorium, and it fell in the centre of the orchestra, blazing at the time. The jury should exclude from their minds any consideration with regard to the ill-success of the effort.

That had nothing to say to the guilt, moral or legal, of the prisoner, and they should not be led astray by any question of the identification being complete, for identification was not necessary when two persons were brought together with mischievous implements that did the evil work. But in this case there was identification, the prisoner having been seen going into the box, and in the box when the fire broke out. A particular circumstance to which he would call attention was that this lady was seen wearing a red motor veil when leaving her lodgings, and when in the theatre she was also seen wearing the same veil, and when she returned to Lower Mount Street she was without her hat or coat, and told the assistant that she had tried to hold up Mr. Asquith's carriage.

The Prisoner: Why mention that case? Why prejudice the jury?

The Attorney-General said they were not trying the lady for that offence, and he was not going to say one word about it for the present, but that event occurred after ten o'clock, and the explosion and firing occurred between eight and nine o'clock. Concluding, he said it was essential for them in Dublin to do their duty in this matter, to do it fairly and honestly, but at the same time to do it fearlessly.

Evidence similar to that of the previous day was then called.

MRS. LEIGH'S DEFENCE

Mrs. Leigh, who said she would call no evidence, proceeded to address the jury, and said that perhaps the evidence would confuse them. It was evidence which had been distorted, but also there was evidence which might seem to have some clear bearing on the case, and before putting that evidence before the jury, she said, the Attorney-General wound up by saying to them that above all things they were to do what was just, and to do their duty—and she hoped they would do their duty. They had a duty to do not only to themselves, but to the whole nation; and when they had decided with their consciences, and with their principles, and with all those finer feelings which went to make up some points of a clear conscience, she trusted that remembering the evidence they would do their duty towards her. The Attorney-General had spoken of women and children going to places of amusement, but the evidence showed there was no danger or confusion, and there was no tangible claim to disorder or to hurt. Prisoner went on to refer to the White Slave Traffic Bill, and remembering the conditions of women she hoped they would do their duty towards women. Their votes had done them some good, and they held over her that day the option as to whether she should be allowed to express her point of view by the same means as were within their grasp, and whether she should take her sentence as a convict or leave the prison alive. That duty devolved upon the jury, for they held the sentence of death over her; for if she went to prison she should fight; if she went to prison she should get her back up against the wall, and nothing, not even the whole army of Government and Government officials, would bring her down to any particular point of submission.

The Voice of Defiance

She continued: I do not want the sympathy of the jury now. In a street of Dublin is a tall column, on the top of which is placed the statue of a man called Nelson, whom the whole world honours, especially women, but when at the battle of Copenhagen, what did he do with his superior's orders but disobey them? When he got the orders he put them to his blind eye, and he said take them away, as he could not see them. I will act like Nelson, and will say to my leader—or any leader placed over me—to the Government and to the Crown Solicitor, and to the Chief Officer under the Crown—I will say to Mr. Asquith and to the other people who may occupy his position, and to the whole powers in this country if I am not allowed to make one stand or strike one blow for my honour, for the honour of women, and for the honour of my country, then I will disobey all orders. My honour is in their hands, for I have stood in the dock before this day, and if I live to come out of Mountjoy Prison, and am still without the vote, I will take my stand again in the dock, for I feel it is better for me to have the number of a convict than to have any Star or Order to be given to me when without the vote.

MR. BUSHE'S SPEECH

Mr. Seymour Bushe, in reply, said it was quite obvious they were dealing with a

woman of rare and peculiar temperament. But although her wit and eloquence must appeal to them and elicit their admiration, yet they could not help feeling they were in the presence of a woman of a very fierce and disordered mind.

The Prisoner: I object, my lord.

Mr. Bushe said her mind was influenced by honest convictions, but it knew no limits, and unless things went her way and were ordered as she wished them she would put her back to the wall, defying all authority, and go cheerfully from dock to dock. He could only say that it was a pity that a woman, who might be a valuable aid to society, should lend her influence to such grave disorder. This woman had been trying to justify crime, but since the first man walked the earth nobody had ever known crime adding to the happiness of a nation. The lady in the dock posed there on a matter of principle, and she was prepared to be a habitual criminal unless she got everything moulded according to her wishes.

"Unhappy Man"

Mr. Asquith—unhappy man—wherever he went was followed by those ladies just as they might see a hawk pursued by a troop of jackdaws. He was expected in Ireland on the night of July 18, and on the afternoon the quartette was made up. The object they had in view was to make Mr. Asquith's visit memorable in an evil sense. Having referred to the acts of the prisoner and her confederates, Counsel said it was only the Providence of God prevented the occurrence from being one of a most appalling occasion of the sacrifice of life and loss of property.

He (Mr. Bushe) was no bigot on the subject of woman suffrage, but he thought there was a price which was even too high for votes for women.

THE JUDGE'S SUMMING UP

The Judge then summed up as follows: Gentlemen of the Jury, in this very important case, to which I invite your closest attention, the prisoner is indicted, in plain English, for causing a fire in the Theatre Royal, which fire, if it had not been promptly extinguished, would undoubtedly have consumed that building, and probably have resulted in loss of life.

There are other charges which I would explain to you in a moment, but that is really the great, grave charge. Now, gentlemen, the case that is before you on the part of the Crown is this. Four women, having the manner and appearance of ladies, came over here, on the occasion of the visit of the Prime Minister to Dublin, with the object—I might say, the avowed purpose—of doing something in Dublin of such a startling character, such an awful character—because it really amounts to that—as would call attention to the cause which they had at heart—and I believe, and I say this in all sincerity, I believe that they have at heart.

Well, gentlemen, to an ordinary sane man or woman it seems all but inconceivable that any women of intelligence—as undoubtedly they are—could imagine that their cause, whatever be the merits of it, we are not concerned with that, would be advanced or rendered more to be generally accepted by its association with crime or outrage of various kinds. It is a curious phase of human nature—but we are not concerned with anything of that kind. The only question for us, does the evidence show with reasonable certainty that Mary Leigh, who stands before you, committed this offence? Now the case for the Crown is this—and I call your attention to the evidence. It is for you to say, does that evidence leave any reasonable and honest mind to doubt that there is a house—15, Lower Mount Street—belonging to Miss Cameron. Mary Kelly is the servant in this house. She was produced here, and her evidence is of the very greatest importance. Her evidence is of such importance that I give it in detail. Four women came to this place—first of all a person whom that servant, who gave her evidence with the greatest care and accuracy, and was most careful not to over-estimate any point, called "the strange lady with a red motor-veil"; she seems to be under a belief as to the identity of that woman, but she said no more, because at that time she had not identified her. Miss Evans went out by herself at 7.15; the "new lady," as I will call her, up to the present that is, the lady with the red motor-veil, went out by herself at a quarter to eight. She had—now I call your attention to it—according to the evidence of that servant, who certainly did not come here to overstate the case, a long coat with a red motor-veil. Mrs. Baker went out alone, and Miss Capper went away. The "new lady"—as I will call her, following the very accurate language of that girl—came back at 10.20, with no veil, no coat, she had lost her hat, and she said that the hat was taken from her, and she used this remarkable expression. "Don't imagine for a moment that you are concerned with anything else that occurred, but it is right always to bring before you what a person says, and she said that it was taken from her for holding up Mr. Asquith's carriage. We know that meant—without referring to that particular incident—that she had been a partaker in this demonstration against Mr. Asquith. I know nothing of that case at all; I know nothing about it judicially, and you know nothing about it at all.

Well, there were four ladies. Now, never forget this—only four. One was Miss Evans, one was Mrs. Baker, one was Miss Capper, who disappears from this

case, and the other was the lady who came in a red veil. And who came back but the lady, who had a right to sleep in the house? Because she asked most carefully. She was in a disordered state. Did she come in as a stranger? No; she came in as one who had a right to. Ask yourselves, as men of common sense, according to the evidence of that girl, if she was the lady who went out with the red motor-veil. Gentlemen, I am only too glad if there is a doubt. I am too glad to suggest it to a jury. What did she do? She went to Mrs. Baker's room, and there remained until she was arrested. Now I must bring you to Mrs. Baker's room when she was arrested. On the 18th she said—now this is most important in the case for the Crown—that this was the joint action of these four women, or, at all events, two or three of them. We are only treating one at the present time. Another was tried—but at this stage I think it is only proper to instruct on this point. Do you come to the conclusion that these four women came to Mount Street Theatre, and that they were there for the purpose of causing an explosion, and of causing this fire for the purpose of a demonstration? No matter who actually did it, every one is equally liable as a principal according to the law of the land. Get this clearly into your heads. No matter whether it was this woman, she would be equally responsible if you believe that these four women were plotting together for the purpose of causing an explosion, equally responsible, whether she was there or not, equally with the others.

And what was found in the room? Now, gentlemen, as men of commonsense, when the prisoner was arrested, she said she wished to speak to her friend. She called in Mrs. Baker, and asked what she ought to do. Well, nothing turns upon what she said then—that she would not go without a warrant. But a brown handbag was found in the possession of Mrs. Baker, in whose room she was, with gunpowder in it, and a parcel of gunpowder that was produced here was found in a bag, and a hot-water bottle—the same precisely so far as the bottle is concerned, as the one that was used by somebody on the occasion of the outrage in Box A.—was found in Mrs. Baker's room. But if we have common sense—do ladies coming from England usually have gunpowder found in their room? If the bottle had benzine in it—according to the evidence of Dr. McWeeny—what are these things there for but to cause fire and explosion?

Now, it is quite right for you to consider the evidence of what Gladys Evans did as a matter of law, because if you go so far as the Crown that these four women were together, that gunpowder was in Baker's room, the room that the prisoner went into, and the obvious purpose of gunpowder, and the water-bottle that had benzine in it, was to cause an explosion and fire—then, gentlemen, no matter who did it, I tell you it is a matter of law that what she did has been proved before you. The curtains and carpet on fire, put out by those two gallant soldiers who threw their overcoats on it, the throwing of the lighted match into the cinematograph box, although the prisoner did not do it, if it was the joint action she was equally responsible. You have been listening very carefully, and, of course, it impresses itself upon the memory of anybody who heard it as you have heard it just now. The flame was seen in Box A., the curtain on fire, the carpet on fire, the woman stooping down, the two flaming chairs—one of them flung down into the orchestra while the inflammable curtain was ablaze. Somebody was doing that, and somebody who had the control, and perhaps the sole control, of Box A. Well, if it was necessary for you—which it is not—to come to a definite conclusion on which of the four did it, gentlemen, I am unable to suggest to you any reason why that evidence should not be entered upon. When a prisoner is not defended, I always see that they get a very good chance, and in this case I felt it my duty to do so, I am only too glad if my advocacy—I was going to say, my judicial decision—leads to an acquittal. An acquittal is much more pleasant to a judge, I can assure you, than a conviction; but what is extraordinary in this case is, I don't find on the part of this lady any real attempt to deny it. It seems to me that she glorifies in the act. If she had suggested anything that I could bring before you in her speech that was a reasonable topic to bring before a jury I would repeat it. But so far from that, she seems to have taken up the position that she was justified in taking this action; but she made a most remarkable expression: "I was in the dock before; I am in the dock now; I will be in the dock again."

Mrs. Leigh: Providing, my lord, that circumstances may not alter cases. There was a proviso. I meant to infer that if we were enfranchised shortly there will be no need of my making any further demonstration.

The Judge: Isn't it pitiable—the pity of it! That is the whole thing in one sentence. If we are enfranchised, no more theatres will be blown up, no more outrages will be committed; but—but—that is the whole thing. It is a mystery, and must be a mystery to any of you.

Well, gentlemen, it is extremely likely that some of you may be in favour of the enfranchisement of women; but it is an awful thing that that sentiment should be enunciated by this lady. This is not the time or place to pay compliments, but

this lady is a very remarkable lady, of very great ability, of very strong character, an ability which, if it had been used for her own sex in accordance with the law, might have gone a long way to achieve the objects which she has really at heart—but here we must part company. That cannot be allowed to be done by crime. Does any sane man think it is possible?

The judge then went into the question of identification by witnesses, and said: Well, I think the jury might ask themselves, looking at the person identified, is it an ordinary face, or one which would impress itself upon your memory? Had the conductor an opportunity of observing it?

Well, that is the case, and it has been dealt with very thoroughly. The prisoner has had an opportunity of saying everything at any length. You know we would willingly listen to anything she had to say, to whatever defence she would have prepared; but I do not labour that point, because what she suggested was a justification of acts of this kind as part of the programme of devotion of advocates of the cause to which she belongs. That, of course, has not anything to do with you. The case for you, gentlemen, is whether you have any reasonable doubt.

The jury returned after a very short time with the verdict: "Guilty on all counts."

JUDGE'S ADDRESS TO THE PRISONERS

The Judge then addressed the prisoners as follows:

Gladys Evans and Mary Leigh:—You are convicted on the clearest evidence of a crime which, indeed, you did not deny, and as to which you attempted no defence known or recognised by the law. That crime is one to which by law a very severe penalty is attached, and it is right that it should be so, for causing a fire in a theatre, having regard to its possible, or I should rather say, probable consequences, is the very worst form of the offence for which you have been indicted. I say that deliberately, for no more terrible catastrophe could occur to the city than the conflagration of the theatre. The fabric of the theatre was not injured or the lives of any of the citizens lost, and, I may say, happily for you, for if life had been lost on that occasion, you would be now standing your trial for wilful murder.

Of the motives which prompted that terrible crime I shall say nothing. I do not wish to add to the painfulness of the present position as regards you, or, I may indeed say I have a duty to perform, and my duty is with all sincerity, as regards myself, the protection of the public, and in particular of the portion of the public endangered in the course of crime and criminal outrage of which this is one instance only. I would very gladly, if I could, take the view of Mr. Healy, that this might be treated as an isolated occurrence. Even if it were an isolated occurrence, an attempt to burn, and the actual causing of a fire in a theatre, is one which I could not, no matter who the culprits were, allow to pass without severe punishment. But, unfortunately, I am unable to take that view. You are both equally responsible. Gladys Evans stated that it was only the beginning, that there would be a worse explosion in the second performance; and you, I will say very little about, except the extraordinary statement which really is the whole business in a nutshell, made by you, Mary Leigh, and that is, that these crimes would cease when women get the Vote.

Well, prisoners, I have to consider, as I said, the protection of the general public, and I have also to bear in mind what is in evidence in this case, that there are public men holding certain views—whether they are right or wrong is not for me to say—but who are opposed to the admission of women to the Suffrage; among these the Prime Minister, who is entitled to his own views upon the subject.

Mrs. Leigh: He is a public servant.

The Judge: It may be, but Mr. Healy suggested on your behalf that there was not likely to be a repetition in the City of Dublin. Well, I think that is probably right, unless it should happen that some other member of that class of public men should visit us on a public occasion; but I have not to consider the public only in the City of Dublin or in Ireland; the terrible danger in which public men of that kind stand is a matter of notoriety at present, and, incidentally, the terrible danger to the public arising from the crimes which are committed in the first place amongst them.

I greatly hope that when this epidemic of crime has passed away, and when the Cause which you have at heart is advocated by lawful, and, I will add, saner methods, that the sentences which it is my duty to pronounce will be, by the proper authorities, reconsidered. That is not for me. I cannot help expressing the earnest hope that that time may be at hand, and at hand shortly. In the meantime, the painful, but imperative duty has come to my lot to pronounce a sentence which is calculated to have a deterrent effect. I have no alternative but to sentence each of you to five years' penal servitude.

Mrs. Leigh: My lord, it will have no deterrent effect upon us.

During this speech the judge was visibly affected, and when he had pronounced sentence for a moment left the bench.

Mrs. Baines was then brought forward to be sentenced.

The Judge: Lizzie Baker, you have pleaded guilty to a minor offence. I am not going into the circumstances of that offence, because I feel myself at liberty to give a sentence which is not very severe, seven calendar months, with hard labour.

The Attorney-General: There is an indictment on which Mary Leigh has been arraigned of throwing a hatchet. Well, my lord, owing to the absence of a material witness to-day I could not possibly go on, I ask your lordship to adjourn it to the next sessions.

Well, of course, you are entitled to ask for a fresh adjournment.

The hatchet case was then adjourned to the October Sessions, and the prisoners were removed to Mountjoy Prison.

L.W.F.L. PETITION

The following Petition has been sent by the Irish Women's Franchise League to his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant-General and General Governor of Ireland:—

We your Petitioners respectfully submit that the said sentences [of five years' penal servitude] are excessive for the reasons following:—

1. The said acts were done for no purpose of gain or selfish desire, but simply and solely in furtherance of a political cause, namely, the political enfranchisement of women.

2. The purity and honesty of the motives of the said Gladys Evans and Mary Leigh for committing the said acts have been questioned by no one, and were recognised by both Judge and Counsel for the Crown at the said trial.

3. The said acts were provoked by the public utterances of responsible Ministers of the Crown, which were literally acted upon by the said Gladys Evans and Mary Leigh.

4. There was no intention on the part of the said Gladys Evans and Mary Leigh to injure any individual, and no individual was in fact injured by the said acts, the time chosen for carrying out these acts was chosen with a view to avoiding any such injury to individuals, and the acts were done openly and publicly, in view of the attendants, and without any attempt at concealment.

5. The sentences are far in excess of any which have been imposed in Great Britain for any former political, social, labour, or sectarian outrages, and far in excess of imposed punishments inflicted in the United Kingdom for serious crimes committed for purposes of gain.

We therefore beg that the sentences of the said Gladys Evans and Mary Leigh be greatly reduced, and that they be treated as political prisoners and accorded the same privileges which have been given to the Irish Suffragists at present undergoing sentences in His Majesty's prison, Mountjoy.

A first instalment of 420 signatures accompanied the above petition, and others are coming in, we are informed as we go to press, at the rate of 100 daily. They include those of Lady O'Brien, wife of the Lord Chief Justice, and her daughter, the Hon. Mrs. George O'Brien, Lady Cowan, Miss Mary Hayden, Mrs. Claud Cave, Mr. Standish O'Grady, Mr. T. D. Sullivan, Mr. Tim Healy, K.C., M.P., Mr. George Russell ("A. E."), Mr. James Stephens, Mr. Padraik Colum, Dr. Mary Strangman, Dr. Katherine Maguire.

COMRADES

A number of visiting justices paid a visit to Mountjoy Prison (Dublin) on Thursday last week, but Mrs. Leigh and Miss Evans (as undergoing penal servitude) were not allowed to see them.

The eight Irish Suffragettes already in prison have asked that the privileges extended to them should be granted to the English prisoners, and Mrs. Sheehy Skeffington has sent a message to the Dublin papers requesting her friends not to send her any more presents while in prison, as she will receive no gifts while the English Suffragists are being treated as ordinary criminals.

TEACHING HISTORY

We understand that the prisoners have also written to the Lord Lieutenant asking for treatment as political prisoners in the First Division. In reply, the Governor informed them that the answer would be some time in coming, and that there was no precedent for treating convicts as first class misdemeanants. To this Mrs. Leigh replied at once, "There is a precedent in this very prison—John Martin in 1868."

MESSAGES FROM MOUNTJOY PRISON

A friend who saw the three Suffragist prisoners on the morning after the Dublin Trial was asked to convey the following messages to the members of the Women's Social and Political Union:—

From MRS. LEIGH

"I am glad to pay the price, and gladly do it in memory of those who are gone. Five years—well, it is the length of the militant movement. It is five years since the militant campaign began. Rise up, women, go forward! It all rests on our own determination whether we bring this struggle to an end quickly."

From MISS GLADYS EVANS

"Our Cause is Freedom—and is deathless. The spirit of the thousand and more women who have already gone to prison for this Cause will be our help and inspiration now. These sentences will have no deterrent effect."

From MRS. LIZZIE BAINES

"I wish to be remembered to everybody. Tell them I am not downhearted—Above all—No Surrender to the finish."

WHAT THE PUBLIC THINKS

The letter below appeared in the *Manchester Guardian* on Friday last:—

Sir,—That the agitation for women's suffrage has reached an exceedingly critical stage is obvious from the present deplorable outbursts of militancy in different parts of the country, and those responsible for the safety of the community in general and Cabinet Ministers in particular would do well to pause and consider before they embark on a course of repressive measures which will, it is to be feared, serve only to exasperate still further an already embittered section of the community.

"Unsettled questions have no pity on the repose of nations," and militancy crushed by repressive measures is but driven underground, there to smoulder and burst forth afresh in some new and still more violent form. It can only be successfully ended by the removal of those grievances which led to its inception. So with the militant agitation for women's suffrage. Long and heavy sentences passed upon those guilty of recent outrages in Dublin and elsewhere, if unaccompanied by the removal of grievances deeply felt, will serve only to inflame the already bitter spirit of the women. It is of no use appealing to the agitators themselves. Such appeals would be absolutely, and naturally, disregarded. It is the Government, and the Government alone, who have it in their power to put an end to the present deplorable state of affairs, and they can only do so by abandoning the mistaken policy of the past and by giving women a guarantee that a measure conferring equal electoral rights on women as on men shall be passed, and passed without delay.

FREDERICK WHIRLEN.

London, August 2.

JUSTICE IN IRELAND!

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Dear Editor,—I arrived in Dublin, July 31, in nice time to test the feelings of the Irish people on the Votes for Women demand and the "theatre escapade." I am sorry to confess that my hearers, although apparently educated men and women, knew absolutely nothing as to why or how they got the Vote, in fact, knew nothing of the political fights in their own country. On August 1, I attended the Court Room in Green Street. I heard the trial of Brophy and Fitzsimons for pulling down the Peamount Sanatorium. I heard the judge sentence them to six months. I read in the Dublin papers the same evening that Messrs. Humphries, the contractors for the Peamount Sanatorium, had sent in a claim to the Dublin Corporation for £800 damages.

I left Dublin, knowing full well there was no justice in that court for women, and I am not surprised at the sentence. Only, perhaps, I can't quite understand why two men should get six months for £800 worth of damage, and three English Women Pioneers get amongst them ten years and seven months for under £5. Perhaps some more enlightened person will tell me?—Yours, &c.,

A DISGUSTED LIBERAL.

A DOCTOR'S VIEW

A medical man, Mr. D. B. Keown, M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P., who visited Miss Evans and Mrs. Baines in prison, writes: "The brutal, disgusting sentence makes me feel quite ill. I voted for this Government, but never again." He goes on to point out that in Dublin wages are so low in laundries (from 2s. 6d. to 8s. a week) that in one week 126 laundresses (respectable women) sought shelter at a night refuge. "Yet in the face of these terrible facts Mr. Asquith and Mr. Redmond ignore any demand to admit women to franchise in Home Rule Bill. Is it any wonder they, knowing these facts, are goaded to madness of crime. I am the last to uphold crime or violence, but I refuse to judge those who do, under these conditions." He adds: "I was surprised and astonished at the pluck and bearing of these women. I saw what I have never seen before. You might look in vain for it in the 300 delegates who were on the platform with Mr. Asquith and Mr. Redmond at the Tivoli—you would not see it there. I should think you would have seen it in the eye of Robert Emmett or Michael Davitt. There is no English word for it; but the French call it 'feu sacré.' Five years' penal servitude cannot quench it—a brutal, barbarous sentence."

WHAT THE PRESS THINKS

Intense indignation prevails in all parts of the country against the sentences passed in Dublin on two militant Suffragists—Mrs. Mary Leigh and Miss Gladys Evans.

MR. LANSBURY'S OPINION

Speaking to a Press representative yesterday, Mr. George Lansbury, M.P., said: "I think the sentences are atrocious, and they will not act as a deterrent in any sort of way. The judge passed the sentences thinking he would stop the militant movement by their severity, and that only shows that neither judges nor Governments learn anything from history. In every movement where people have really believed in a thing, like these women, severity has only called up more determination on the part of those concerned. Dublin should have been the last place in the world in which a judge should have considered that severe sentences would have such an effect, because the whole history of the Nationalist movement proves conclusively, right from the beginning, that the harsher the Government treated the Irish patriots the more determined they became to fight the Government."

"No one, of course, least of all myself, wishes to see women set fire to theatres or do anything violent, but judges, the Government, and society generally, have to recognise that there is some cause, and the cause in this case is that women are being governed against their will."

Government Responsibility

"Women are outside the law, and have no part or lot in its making, and they also declare that laws which are made are laws which operate against their interests and against their well-being. The responsibility lies—as the responsibility for Irish outrages lay—at the door of those who refuse to recognise the legitimate demands of women to be allowed to have a voice in the management of their own affairs. It is a sad commentary on the fact of Dublin being the home of the revolutionary Nationalist movement that brought English Liberalism to its knees, by agitation both violent and peaceful, that in Dublin a judge should be found to pass such an atrocious sentence."

Militancy in the House

"I hope," the Member for Bow and Bromley proceeded, "that the sentences will spur every man and woman in the country, who believes in the suffrage, to redouble their efforts and compel Parliament to settle the matter by granting votes for women. This could be done without any violence or disorder, especially if Liberal women, Liberal Members of Parliament, and Labour Members would let it be known that they would risk turning out the Government unless the matter were settled in a democratic manner. The only thing that can stop militancy and these outrages is that we men, especially we who give lip service to the women, should make the women understand that we are prepared in the House to go any length, so far as the Government is concerned, in winning votes for women. Women have lost faith in promises and pledges, and if we would restore it and bring peace we must not again give mere assurances, but show the Government in the Commons that votes for women is a matter of primary importance, and that we are determined that it shall be so considered by the House of Commons."—*Daily Herald*.

A HUNGER STRIKE

The Irish public must not fall behind the disagreeing jurymen in their appreciation of the political motive of Mrs. Leigh and her comrades. They must be accorded the full rights of political prisoners. To secure for them these rights, with the minimum of delay, is the immediate duty of Irish Suffragists. We are authorised to state definitely that a certain number of the Irish militants now in Mountjoy (for obvious reasons we withhold names) are prepared to go further, and to join in the strongest protest that can be made by the English prisoners against the refusal of political rights. To put it plainly—by Wednesday, August 14, the Hunger Strike will have begun in Mountjoy Prison, unless before that day the political status of the English prisoners as well as the Irish is definitely recognised by the authorities. It therefore behoves all those who desire to save Ireland from the barbarities which have characterised the treatment of political prisoners across the water, to act vigorously and promptly.—*Irish Citizen*.

THE TRUTH OF THE MATTER

The crime for which the Suffragists at Dublin have just been sentenced was a very serious one, and it has been severely punished. More we need not say on that matter at the moment; but it must be stated once again that in this whole question of Female Suffrage the Radical Party has placed itself in an impossible position. Nothing can excuse outrages; but if anything could excuse them it would be action of the kind taken of late by the Radical Party. Mr. Lloyd George and Sir Edward Grey both advocate "Votes for Women"; Mr. Asquith thinks that the policy of his colleagues would lead to national disaster, but he is prepared to give way if he can hold office on no other terms. There is really no other way of putting his action. Not content with that, he has recourse to a trick, by bringing in the Franchise Bill,

one of whose objects, as has been clear to everybody since its introduction, is to render the female franchise impossible. No more contemptible political game has ever been played. That, combined with Mr. Hobhouse's taunt that the Suffragists had not yet resorted to violence, is a direct incentive to violence. It is a means of manufacturing militants out of non-militants, an unchivalrous, unstatesmanlike, and ungentlemanlike procedure.—*The Globe*.

THE REAL CULPRITS GO FREE

If Mr. Bonar Law, Sir Edward Carson, and Mr. F. E. Smith, three prominent English politicians, were endowed with a sense of honour and decency, they would have presented themselves at Green Street Courthouse in Dublin yesterday and volunteered to take the places of the three English Suffragettes sentenced to periods of penal servitude and imprisonment for the commission of serious crimes. The Suffragettes are frank. They make no secret of the inspiration which impelled them to recent attempts at crime of the first magnitude. They had confined themselves to kicking the shins of English policemen and breaking windowpanes owned by English shopkeepers until they saw members of the King's Privy Council deliberately breaking the law of the land and advising others to "extreme" courses. Then they decided upon more violent measures, and the consequences of that decision were the crimes committed in Dublin on the night of July 19 and the heavy sentences passed upon the unhappy women who left the Green Street dock for convict cells in Mountjoy Prison yesterday.

As between Mr. Bonar Law and Sir Edward Carson on one side and Miss Evans and Mrs. Leigh on the other, all the honesty, pluck, and self-sacrifice must be accredited to the two Englishwomen who tried to burn down the Dublin Theatre Royal—and who have been sentenced to five years in penal servitude for their crime. We are confident the English women will find themselves at liberty in the near future to return to their own country; and we hope they will remain at home. But they and their friends who publish *VOTES FOR WOMEN* have a genuine grievance: the female politicians who sought to "convert" the British Parliament by means of gunpowder and petrol in an Irish theatre can justly regard themselves as martyrs while the preachers of criminality, "regardless of consequences," remain at large.—*Irish News*.

A FEAR THAT IS WELL GROUNDED!

We should sincerely like to add that fanatics like Mrs. Leigh are disowned by every decent member of the Suffragist party, but, unfortunately, this would not, we fear, be true.—*Evening Standard*.

WHAT ABOUT THE LAST 45 YEARS?

In any case, it is time that the non-militants should be given their chance.—*Liverpool Daily Courier*.

Much, too, has been made of the unhappy observation of Mr. Hobhouse, when that Minister of State challenged the Suffragists to show whether they were serious or not; and here, indeed, we do find some explanation of, if no shadow of excuse for, the present policy of the militant leaders.—*Irish Times*.

Nobody can foretell what form the menace to individuals and society may assume when women resort to such terrible expedients as attempting to set fire to public places. . . . The prisoners seem to have been unrepentant and still wedded to the doctrine that violence is justifiable in the achieving of their political ends. Whether this determination will be persisted in remains to be seen. Dogged endurance and a blind unreasoning kind of courage some of the militant Suffragists have exhibited in the past. Pains and penalties have had apparently no effect on their mischievous activities. The result seems to have been a further stimulation of their inventive faculties.—*Lancashire Daily Post*.

Their propaganda has now reached a stage—has, indeed, long passed it—at which they are a danger and a menace to the community, and in self-defence the community must impose some check. At the same time, there is no desire to show any spirit of vindictiveness towards these women, who are no doubt honest if fanatical, and who would be law-abiding if they were not Suffragists.—*The Scotsman*.

It may be that the clemency of the authorities will be extended in mitigation by and by, either by way of reduction of the sentence or in a relaxation of prison conditions, so as to make their fate somewhat endurable. Sympathy for these misguided people will at any rate incline in that direction.—*Belfast Evening Telegraph*.

The sentences of five years' penal servitude which were yesterday passed on Mrs. Leigh and Miss Gladys Evans by Mr. Justice Madden will be received throughout the country with a sense of shock. It is impossible to withhold an expression of pity for women whose lack of restraint has earned them so terrible a punishment, and it may be hoped that their example will act as a deterrent not only to suffragists of the militant type, but to more responsible politicians who are teaching such injudicious people to enforce unsuccessful argument with resistance to law.—*Yorkshire Observer*.

MY LITTLE LOVERS

By E. Ayrton Zangwill

I have two little lovers, fond lovers though in miniature. They put soft arms around me; they kiss me with soft lips. Did any woman ever know so great a joy before?

Very comely are my lovers, sweet swains of recognised desirability. Fair ladies call them beautiful. Proud ladies plead for their affection. Yet the pleading is in vain. Though I am growing old and dull, this pair of gallants turns to me.

Nathless I have my jealousies; not always are my lovers constant. Of late they came to bid me farewell, for I was starting on a journey. I see them now as they stood upon the platform of a little country station, the elder tall for his years (five age-long years), and clad in a vivid green of his own choosing—"Porters wear green," had been the explanation of his fixed decision. Brown leather gaiters completed his costume, upliftingly adult, and in strange contrast with the young halo of a Bellini seraph. Like Samson, my elder love has subjugating locks. And by the hand he held his junior, a tiny form, all dressed in white and baby innocence. For to this one speech comes as yet explosively, and walking is a high adventure. And for the rest I saw a serious, steadfast little face, with large, dark eyes and rosy cheeks framed in a shapeless bonnet. Thus I gazed at my two lovers from the train window—but they never looked at me!

For my lovers' thoughts were rapt away, their eyes beheld fairer beauties. To them that station is enchanted ground, a paradise of heart's desire. Pale with ecstasy, the elder contemplated the train's couplings and the axles; I knew the black, oily droppings rose as incense to his nostrils. And my little love's heart was stolen from me by an equine fellow-passenger. "Orse, orse, st'oke orse," I heard the heartbroken cry as we steamed from the station.

And yet I resent not this fickleness; a divided allegiance leaves me unmoved. Smilingly, I play second fiddle to every piece of mechanism, to every mangy cat. In truth, I find myself regarding the objects of my lovers' love with an awakened comprehension, a new reverence. A carhorse, when I am alone, plods past as a wasted opportunity; a steamroller looms, an unexploited romance.

And so may I ever feel when greater loves shall claim my lovers. May I see with their eyes, and feel with their throbbing hearts. For I am but their background, while they are the foreground of my existence. But all this is forgotten when they run and fling soft arms around me. Helen of Troy knew no greater rapture than I when my lovers love.

A BOOK ABOUT THE BORGIAS

The latter half of the fifteenth and the earlier half of the sixteenth century were times remarkable for an extraordinary mixture of culture and of mental and moral depravity, and in the Borgia Popes we have this mixture personified. Lately there has been a good deal of literature on them and their period, some of it utterly condemnatory, and some of it tending to throw doubt on deeds one had been taught to think were undisputed historical facts. Bishop Mathew takes rather the middle course in his book, "The Life and Times of Rodrigo Borgia," for although it would be difficult to present a Borgia in the light of an ideal Vicar of Christ, it is possible that more was attributed to them than that of which they were actually guilty.

Rodrigo Borgia, Pope Alexander VI., did not find it incompatible with his office to lead a life of worldly and sensual indulgence; he was the father of ten children, and desire for their worldly advancement seems to have amounted to almost a mania with him, and no doubt accounted for a good many of the malicious intrigues in which he indulged. It was an age when women were thought of little account, save as adjuncts to the needs and worldly successes of men; and we find Caesar Borgia, son of the Pope, when his sister's husband stands in his way, conceiving a plan for his murder, and afterward coolly admitting the fact. Typical, too, of the time and of the position of women was it that, although overcome with grief at the death of her husband and knowing the culpability of her brother, Lucrezia, after a few months' absence from Rome, returned, and a complete reconciliation took place between brother and sister. The author has no new light to throw upon these dark times, and it must be admitted there is a lack of atmosphere about the work which makes it a little heavy. Facts duly chronicled without much comment or local colour are apt to remind us too forcibly of the schoolroom and the history text-book. Still, those who wish to make a study of this particular age will find the book useful, not only as the life record of a famous character in history, but also for the actual details given of his period. The illustrations with which the book is richly supplied are excellent.

K. D. S.

BOOKS RECEIVED

"The Englishwoman," August. (London: Sidgwick and Jackson. Price 1s. net.)

"To-day (M.H.)." By Percy White. (London: Constable and Co., Ltd. Price 6s.)

"The Twentieth Century Magazine," August. (Boston: Twentieth Century Co. Price 25 cents.)

"The English Review," August, 1912. (London: F. C. Dixon. Price 1s. net.)

"Women's Position in the Laws of the Nation." International Council of Women. G. Braunsche Hofbuchdruckerei Karlsruhe, i.B. Price M2.40.

"The Life and Times of Rodrigo Borgia, Pope Alexander VI." By the Most Rev. Arnold H. Mathew, D.D. (Stanley Paul, 16s. net.)

WOMEN IN THE PROFESSIONS

In the United States two women have recently been appointed judges, a sign of progress that appeals especially to the militant Suffragist who knows what it means to be tried and convicted by a judge and jury of men who entirely fail to see the woman's point of view. The office of City Recorder of Daly City, California, a post equivalent to a San Francisco judgeship, has just been accepted by Miss Clara Alice Jess, the first woman to be appointed to a judicial position in that State. In Chicago, a still more important appointment has been made in the case of Miss Mary Bartelme, who has just been offered the post of Assistant Judge of the Juvenile Court there. In accepting the post, Miss Bartelme declares her intention of concentrating her attention on the young girl offenders who are brought before her, and shows her fitness for her very responsible position by announcing that where it is necessary to send children away from their homes she will try rather to place them with good families than in institutions. No one who has ever attended a Children's Court in this country and seen the monotonous sentence of industrial school or reformatory passed upon child after child in the dock, could fail to recognise the importance of having the woman's point of view represented on the bench as well as the man's.

Apparently, Miss Bartelme's colleague in the Chicago Juvenile Court, Judge M. C. Pinckney, is of the same opinion, for he has expressed the greatest satisfaction over her appointment. Such an appointment would, however, be a kind of mockery over here as long as the parents of the children in the dock do not enjoy an equal status in the eye of the law. As it is, the mother does not count as a parent at all, unless she happens to be unmarried or a widow; and if there are still some who believe that women are, as the Anti-Suffragist asserts, "spoilt children of the law," let them obtain a special permit and attend a sitting of the Children's Court in any police court, and see how little the mother counts when the destiny of her child is in question. All the kindness shown to her by magistrate and officials cannot obliterate the fact that it is her husband who gives or withholds the parent's consent to the disposal of the child as suggested by the judge. She brought the child into the world, but her husband alone is its legal guardian and alone has the right to control its future.

Another interesting appointment is that of a woman to be governor of the women's prison in Berlin. Here, again, militant Suffragists, because they have been to prison themselves, know better than anyone how much a woman is needed in this very difficult position. An almost incalculable amount might be done to stop the manufacture of criminals now going on in our women's gaols, if the official at the head of them were a woman, besides being endowed with those special human qualities which go to the making of a good prison official of any grade. It is enlightening to read also in the Press of the first woman Bishop ever elected, Bishop Margaret La Grange, of the New Thought Church, in the diocese of Michigan, whose influence, it is said, extends over many thousands of people, from business men to young working girls. Her church is filled with young and old, busy people and idlers, attracted by that combination of common sense and imaginative sympathy which always marks the ideal leader of men and women. Perhaps there is more common sense than imagination in the banking profession; but in view of the ordinary conception of women's financial capacity, it is interesting to find that a Japanese woman, Mrs. Seno Kin, has just been made president of a bank in Tokio.

An instance of the way women are forced to undercut men has occurred at Wandsworth, where, it is announced, the Libraries Committee of the Borough Council recommend that women assistants should be appointed at the Free Libraries as vacancies in the male staff occur, the reason given for this recommendation being that the salaries are not high enough for men above a certain age. No age limit is, apparently, fixed in the case of the women assistants, who, whether they are old or young, whether they support themselves only, or, as most women workers do, help to support others as well, are to be content with salaries that never rise higher than £90. This is quite a common instance of the way in which women are compelled to be blacklegs through a false economic standard that they can do nothing to alter because the State refuses them the fundamental recognition of their political equality with men.

There must be something very rejuvenating about the militant Suffrage movement. A correspondent writes that on visiting the Anti-Suffrage stall at the Earl's Court Exhibition the other day for the purpose of asking a few questions, she was met with the brusque information from the stall-holders that they "did not discuss the matter with children." The questioner happened to be twenty-eight, but on pointing this out was told that she must consider the mistake "a compliment," and the stall-holders appeared surprised that she did not regard it as one. This reminds us of a certain Liberal meeting in East London in the early days of the militant movement, when several women were thrown out for asking a question that never got answered, and the Cabinet Minister on the platform complained of the "Association" that sent "these young girls" to such meetings. Outside, in the intervals of addressing an extremely sympathetic crowd of working people, the "young girls" compared ages, and it was found that only two of them were under thirty, and one was over fifty—a very long way from the age at which that same Cabinet Minister is now prepared to enfranchise all the male population of the country!

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long as the coat
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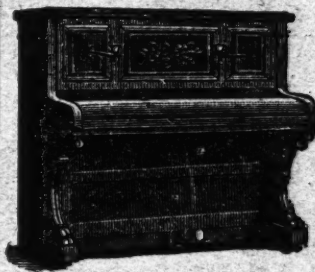
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ANNOUNCEMENTS

The weekly free meetings in London have been discontinued for the summer recess. They will be resumed on Monday afternoon, October 7, and Thursday evening, October 10.

Prisoners' Secretary

All inquiries with regard to prisoners should be addressed to Miss Winifred Mayo, W.S.P.U., 4, Clement's Inn, W.C.

Royal Albert Hall, London, Thursday, October 17

The meeting at the Royal Albert Hall on Thursday, October 17, at 8 p.m., to welcome the leaders of the W.S.P.U. and to honour them and all Suffragists who have suffered imprisonment during 1912, promises to be one of the most important in the history of the militant movement. Tickets are going splendidly, and members who have not yet secured seats are advised to do so now. Members must not forget their friends, as, owing to the regulations attached to a full let of the Albert Hall, it is only through members tickets may be obtained. These may be had from the Ticket Secretary, W.S.P.U., 4, Clement's Inn, W.C. Prices:—Boxes, grand tier (to hold ten), 30s.; Loggia (to hold eight), 21s.; second tier (to hold five), 12s. 6d.; amphitheatre stalls, 2s. 6d.; arena (blocks B, C, D, and E), 1s. (only a few left); balcony, first six rows, 1s.; two back rows, 6d. (all numbered and reserved); upper orchestra (unnumbered), 6d.

Meeting Outside Holloway

It must not be forgotten that at the present time one woman, Marie Neill, is undergoing imprisonment in Holloway Prison. A meeting will be held outside the prison to-morrow, Saturday evening, at 8 p.m. A band will play for some time before the meeting. London members are asked to make a special effort to be present to support the speakers and to show their appreciation of the brave woman who is passing the summer months behind prison bars.

Articles and News contributed for insertion in *VOTES FOR WOMEN* should be sent to The Editors, *VOTES FOR WOMEN*, 4, Clement's Inn, Strand, W.C., at the earliest possible date, and in no case later than first post Monday morning prior to the publication of the paper.

The Editors cannot hold themselves in any way responsible for the return of unused manuscripts, though they will endeavour as far as possible to return them when requested if stamps for postage are enclosed.

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53, BARNES STREET, W.

A CLUB is being formed and will be opened in September for men and women interested in Women's Suffrage. The premises will be in a central position, and will have bedrooms (for lady members, at a reasonable price), dining, reading, writing rooms, and lounge.

Receptions and lectures dealing with the Suffrage question will be held during the winter months.

The club being a proprietary one, members incur no liability whatever other than subscription and entrance if any. Subscription for first 200 members, £1 1s. and no entrance. A competent secretary has been engaged, with 8 years' experience of Club management. Further particulars, Box 102, *VOTES FOR WOMEN*, 4, Clement's Inn, W.C.

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VOTES FOR WOMEN

4, CLEMENT'S INN, STRAND.

FRIDAY, AUGUST 16, 1912

NO SURRENDER

Two women have been put to death for five years because the Liberal Government are opposed to giving women the Vote.

Some people will perhaps retort that the real reason why these women have been condemned to lose five years of their life is that they have committed a crime. We deny that this is the real reason, because if the Government had consented to give women the Vote, the crime would never have been committed. Therefore we re-affirm that it is because the Government oppose the enfranchisement of women that Mrs. Leigh and Miss Gladys Evans have received sentence of five years' penal servitude.

Let us consider why the Dublin protest was made. That protest which has had results so serious for those who made it! The protest was made because of the abominable treachery of the Government. Their treachery consists in this: A Manhood Suffrage Bill has been introduced and is to be carried as a barrier against the enfranchisement of women. In order to deceive them and keep them quiet until this evil purpose is achieved, the Government have made a sham pledge to women. That pledge is that if an unofficial Woman Suffrage amendment is carried by the House of Commons, the Government will accept it as an integral part of their Manhood Suffrage Bill, and will carry it into law.

In spite of this pledge, the Members of the House of Commons have been informed that if they carry a Woman Suffrage amendment, certain Cabinet Ministers will resign and the Government will be destroyed.

As a result of this information, the entire Nationalist Party intends to vote against the women's amendments, and every Liberal M.P. who puts party and the existence of the Government before principle will vote against them too. The defeat of these amendments is, therefore, a certainty.

In spite of these facts, the "Constitutional" Suffragists say that they believe reliance on the Government's "pledge" and upon unofficial amendments to be the wisest policy.

Because of these same facts, Mary Leigh and Gladys Evans believe violent protest to be a political necessity. They have staked five years of their life upon the soundness of that belief. The presumption, therefore, is that they are in the right and that those who

have not paid this great price are in the wrong. For if Mrs. Leigh and her fellow convict could by any reasoning or calculation whatever have persuaded themselves that the way taken by the Constitutionals is a safe one, the Dublin protest would never have been made. No one finds any personal gratification in doing what they have done, nor in being sentenced to many years of penal servitude. The Dublin protest was made in entire regardlessness of self, and those who purge themselves of all selfishness have a vision that is very clear, they see with the eye of the soul, and the two convicts know with a certain knowledge that the Government are working to destroy women's hope of political freedom.

Yet we shall still hear no doubt some reckless, thoughtless talk of militancy destroying the "prospects of success." There have in our history been many instances of militancy compelling reluctant votes in support of reform. Indeed, most of the liberties of this country are the fruit of popular violence, as Gladstone truly said. But there is no instance of a reform being delayed by violence, and this is very natural, because when a reform is not obstructed by the politicians, its advocates do not resort to violence. We declare without hesitation that no Member of Parliament ever deserts a cause in which he really believes merely because violence has been used to promote it. On the other hand, Members of Parliament, including some of the greatest and most public spirited, have been known to renounce opposition to a measure in response to violence and disorder.

Since when have the men of this country become so decadent and so emasculate as to condemn rebellion against injustice? They are not afraid of the word, as we may judge from all the manifestoes and counter-manifestoes that are being delivered on platforms and communicated to the newspapers. It is not the name of rebellion, but the fact of rebellion that they dislike. They themselves make glib use of the name. Women give them the fact.

There is nothing done either at Dublin or elsewhere during the whole course of the militant movement that is not justified by the speeches and writings of the public men of the present day. Thus we have Mr. Bonar Law saying that Ulstermen will be justified in resisting Home Rule by "all means in their power, including force," and boasting already that by this threat of force the Government have been made to see that their intentions concerning Home Rule cannot be fulfilled. On the other hand, there is Mr. Winston Churchill, who declares with obvious pride and approval, that "men have been found and will be found again in the world to dare and suffer all things in resistance to tyranny"; and the Prime Minister, too, says: "I cannot deny that there are cases in which rebellion, active resistance to the law, may be necessary." If what these men say is true, wherein is Suffragist militancy wrong?

The sentence of five years' penal servitude is a punishment grossly excessive. It is indeed a piece of sheer political terrorism. There have lately been committed in Ireland, by Nationalists and by Unionists, offences against property and person much more serious than those committed by Suffragists. In Belfast, for example, men have been nearly roasted alive; their heads have been smashed, they have been nearly drowned—all this in the course of political strife! Yet we hear nothing of sentences of five years' penal servitude being imposed in connection with these fierce and dangerous acts. That is because there is one law for enfranchised men, and another and a harsher law for voteless women.

The sentence upon Mrs. Leigh and Miss Evans is an act of persecution. It is also, as we have said, an act of terrorism directed against women who may be disposed to follow their example. The judge confessed this when he said that if militancy were to cease, the sentence of penal servitude might be remitted. Militancy can easily be stopped, but not on those terms!

When passing sentence on the prisoners, the judge spoke of the terrible consequences that might have followed the protest in the Theatre Royal. Always there is this talk of what might have happened. Would it not be well if people were sometimes to think a little less of what might have happened, and a little more of what has happened in the way of mental and bodily pain and loss of liberty endured by militant Suffragists? The circumstances of the Dublin protest make it clear that care was taken to avoid injury to the audience, and that the intention of those who effected the protest was to deliver a visible and unmistakable message of indignation to the Prime Minister, who proposed under that same roof to offer liberty to men only. However, the Judge thought fit to say to the prisoners, "If life had been lost on that occasion, you would now be standing your trial for wilful murder."

These are grave words, and if they are justified by the facts of the case, then that case is grave. For think what it means! It means that the two women in the Dock had been ready, if chance had so decreed, to take upon their souls the burden of destroying life. They were prepared to suffer the punishment of such an act in this world and in the next. Let us put it thus—they were ready to be lost that other women might be saved. No Government could break that spirit!

If the Judge's words were justified, then the Government have brought us face to face with tragedy. They have trifled with and they have mocked at the passion for liberty. That is always a dangerous thing to do.

What is to happen next? The Government must decide. Will they yield now, or do they decree that the fight shall continue yet a little longer? As for the militant women, their policy is expressed in the two words "No Surrender." Now that the Government are taking to the desperate measure of penal servitude, victory for women is very, very sure and very near.

"IT WILL HAVE NO DETERRENT EFFECT!"

MRS. MARY LEIGH

Those who read the account of her trial at Dublin do not need to be told that Mrs. Leigh is a remarkable woman. In the minds of thousands who have never seen her, but have read of her defence, she now exists as a figure inspired by love for humanity, and filled with the determination to imprint her ideal of justice upon the world. By those who sat in Court and saw and heard her, Mrs. Leigh was called and will henceforward be known as "that noble woman."

Mrs. Leigh is one of the outstanding personalities in the militant Suffrage movement. To describe her is a matter of difficulty, because she is not a type, but is so highly individual. Seeking for another to whom to compare her, one thinks at once of Lady Constance Lytton. No two women could be more different in some respects, but they resemble each other in their superhuman regardlessness of self, and in being, as it were, utterly unworldly and unselfish. And, indeed, there is a very strong bond of sympathy between them, as though each found in the other some special quality of attraction. One cannot resist the feeling that it is only because Mrs. Leigh is a prisoner that one is free to write a personal appreciation of her, for she is an extraordinarily impersonal woman. Bold and unhesitating in action, she lets that action stand, and, so to say, withdraws herself. To tell the truth, she is impersonal to a fault, and has more than once robbed her friends by her absence from some gathering held in her honour of the pleasure of applauding her courage and her service to the movement.

There is something about Mrs. Leigh that suggests a daughter of the regiment. Her upright carriage, and her precision of movement seem as though they must be the result of military drilling, though we believe they are natural to her. This complete harmony of organisation—the well-disciplined body so evidently the servant of her mind—is one of her most noticeable characteristics. Her agility, coupled with great physical courage, enables Mrs. Leigh to perform feats very surprising to less adventurous colleagues. A horse, harnessed to a wagonette which was in use as a Suffrage platform, took fright and ran away. Mrs. Leigh, who was among the speakers, leapt to the ground, rushed to the horse's head, and the incident was closed. She has been known to jump out of a conveyance which was pursued by a hostile crowd, and, charging the enemy, put them to shame. Just as she knows no spiritual fear, she knows no bodily fear.

As a speaker, Mrs. Leigh exerts a great influence. Her strength of purpose, her disinterestedness, her courage, and her enthusiasm, make their impression on the platform, as everywhere else.

Mrs. Leigh is essentially a good comrade. As we have said, she is impersonal, and she is even austere. But that does not make her heart cold to her fellow-soldiers. Of her own safety she thinks nothing. When in prison she will die rather than yield, and, as will be remembered, she was one of the first hunger strikers, and suffered three months' forcible feeding in Winson Green Gaol. Yet there is no one who cares more for the safety of other militants than she does. When women are in prison and she is outside, she is full of thought and care for them. The militant facing imprisonment for the first time finds a special friend and champion in Mrs. Leigh.

Mrs. Leigh has all the qualities of a soldier. Loyalty to her cause, her flag, and her leaders is very strong in her. She believes in order and discipline and obedience, if only because these things contribute to victory. At the same time, she regards her own conscience as the final authority, and if and when she thinks it right to do so, she acts alone.

Mrs. Leigh is a working woman, as are many of the finest members of the Women's Social and Political Union. Thinking of Mrs. Leigh and of these others, we realise the tragic waste of human material caused by the disabilities imposed upon the millions of other working women who have not been strong to rise as these have risen, in spite of disabilities.

"No surrender!" is Mrs. Leigh's watchword. It was, therefore, all the more grotesque that the judge should offer her restoration to liberty in exchange for the abandonment of militancy. Those who should make such a bargain would get small thanks from her!

"I was in the dock before, I am in the dock now, and if the Vote is not given to us I shall be in the dock again," said this heroic woman, and when sentence was pronounced, she said, "It is a dreadful sentence, but it will not deter us." Such words strike

on the heart's chords. We are filled with joy and thankfulness that there exists this unconquerable spirit.

Human beings are divided into two classes—those who must obey ready-made standards because they have no inward leading, and a minority of others to whom is given a special and direct revelation of duty. It is to this inspired minority that Mrs. Leigh belongs.

MISS GLADYS EVANS

Biographical Sketch

Miss Gladys Evans, who stood side by side in the dock with Mrs. Leigh last week, and received with her the unprecedented sentence of five years' penal servitude, has been a member of the Women's Social and Political Union since July, 1909. Her father was one of the proprietors of *Vanity Fair*, and for some time edited the *Bullionist*. Miss Evans began to earn her living very early, and has in fact been in business since the age of fifteen, so it is not remarkable

Miss Evans' first militant action was taken in November, 1910, when she formed part of the deputation of women who, in Parliament Square on Black Friday, were so terribly knocked about by the police when forbidden access to the Prime Minister. With many others she was arrested, and, like them, was discharged on the following morning, when she surrendered to her bail at the Police Court.

In May, 1911, she left Messrs. Selfridge's to take charge of the W.S.P.U. kiosk at the Crystal Palace, where she did admirable work and made many converts. In the autumn of the same year she went to Canada, where she would be still had not the news reached her of the arrest of the W.S.P.U. leaders last March, of their subsequent imprisonment, hunger strikes, and sufferings. These events stirred her so deeply that she found it impossible to remain out of her own country while such things were being done at the instigation of the Government. On her own initiative she returned to England, where she landed early in July. Hearing, on her arrival, of Mr. Asquith's pending visit to Ireland, she at once followed him to Dublin, and made the protest on behalf of her voteless countrywomen, which has resulted in the imposition of a sentence of five years' penal servitude.

MESSAGE FROM MRS. PANKHURST

Dear Members of the W.S.P.U.,—

The Liberal Government's last act before adjourning for the vacation was to initiate a new mode of repressing the Woman's Suffrage movement, and now women who want the vote and have the courage to accept the challenge of Cabinet Ministers and fight for it are to have long terms of penal servitude. The unprincipled politicians who are pressing forward a measure intended only to increase the voting power of men, and are trying to deceive women by a pledge that is utterly worthless, hope to crush the woman's movement by sending those heroines, Mrs. Leigh and Miss Evans, to a convict prison for five years in the hope that this vindictive and horrible treatment will deter other women from following their example.

The Judge (who postponed sentence no doubt to confer with those above him) held out the hope that the cessation of militancy would reduce the term of imprisonment imposed. How little he and the Government understand the spirit animating our brave comrades!

This latest outrageous act of reprisal, while it covers the Government with shame, will only strengthen the determination of militant Suffragists to fight for women's freedom to the end, at no matter what cost to themselves.

Mrs. Leigh and Miss Evans and Mrs. Baines, whom we love and honour for their splendid courage, have brought the agitation to a crisis where the Government must face two alternatives, either they must prepare to send large numbers of women to penal servitude, or give women the vote without further delay.

In a few short weeks the holidays will be over, and the W.S.P.U. will be at work again. My enforced absence during the past critical weeks has been hard to bear, but when Parliament re-opens I shall be with you, ready to fight by your side and prepared to share the penalties which this contemptible Government may think fit to impose in the vain hope of crushing our movement. The end is in sight, and very soon the victory will be ours.

E. Pankhurst

An Appreciation

From the time that Miss Gladys Evans first joined the W.S.P.U. she showed a keen desire to help in every way in her power. When in business at Messrs. Selfridge's she gave very valuable help to the organisers of the W.S.P.U., for by her enthusiasm and charming personality she won over many new members and friends to the Cause.

Miss Evans first took part in militant action by joining the deputation to the Prime Minister on Black Friday, when she was brutally maltreated, ultimately arrested, and then discharged with all the other prisoners by order of the Home Secretary.

She continued her work at Messrs. Selfridge's until the spring, and in May, 1911, she left business and took charge of the Kiosk of the W.S.P.U. at the Crystal Palace for some months, doing good propaganda work there. In the autumn Miss Evans went to Canada, where she showed her grit by striking out a new line of work, in which she was very successful.

Her distress was great on reading of the arrest of the leaders in March, and later on she was roused to deep anger by the treachery and trickery of the Government in wrecking the Conciliation Bill; this, followed by the trial of the leaders, their subsequent imprisonment, and forcible feeding, and the torturing of the women in prison, so incensed her, that she at once determined to return to England, "to take her place in the fighting line, and make the strongest protest in her power." Miss Evans landed on July 13, and almost immediately went to Dublin, where her indignation found practical expression on the occasion of Mr. Asquith's visit, for which action she has received the vindictive sentence of five years' penal servitude. Those who know her are confident that this will not break her brave, loyal spirit, or weaken her splendid courage. J. E. V.

ANOTHER IMPRESSION

"We are determined to win this vote. If you will help us much suffering will be spared to women; if not, we must go on by ourselves. We shall go on and we shall win, whatever it cost us." It was the Hyde Park Demonstration. A blue haze over everything in the distance; wherever one looked crowds, now beginning to break up; banners everywhere, lending vivid colour and meaning to the scene. The meeting was over.

Round our lorry, though, there lingered many listeners. The heat was intense, and seemed to have infected the crowd with a kind of languor. They seemed not so much listening as looking. Their minds, one would have guessed, were not so much occupied with the arguments of the speaker as concerned with some impression of which they were faintly conscious. Above them, perched high up, stood a little figure all in white except for the encircling regalia. Every line of that figure expressed earnestness; it was intense; it was, in contrast to all surrounding, desperately alive—slight and dainty, dainty but not soft; the face was pale; the eyes seemed to look far, far beyond the present to some distant object. The rest of us had left the lorry—our task was done, we thought; but she, it seemed, could not have done with pleading with the people. They looked up at her, half wondering, agape, uncertain, but vaguely moved—aware, it seemed, that something great, unusual stood before them; a bit of elemental fire or rare metal, perhaps highly tempered steel.

that she should have been moved to take a strong line in the militant Suffrage campaign. The life of a shop assistant is one that offers many opportunities for studying and experiencing the economic disabilities of women, and Miss Evans was quick to see the connection between these and the woman's vote, and threw herself with enthusiasm into the cause of Votes for Women directly she joined the Union.

She was then at Messrs. Selfridge's, where she was in business for three years altogether, giving as much of her spare time as she possibly could to the furtherance of the movement. She was a successful pupil of Miss Rosa Lee's in the Speakers' Class, and a well known figure on the Charing Cross pitch, where she stood in all weathers selling VOTES FOR WOMEN. But undoubtedly her greatest activity in propaganda work was shown in connection with the women of her own profession whom she won over in large numbers to the Cause. When Miss Vibert was organising the business women for the Suffrage Processions of 1910 and 1911, Miss Gladys Evans proved invaluable, both in her power of gaining recruits for this particular contingent of processionists, and also in her organising ability and her tireless energy. Miss Vibert sends us her personal impression of Miss Evans, which we print below.

undimmed by sullyng compromise or life's uses. It was Mrs. Leigh.

Reader, do you call to mind some cinquecento angel on canvas or graven in stone, deliciously shapen but vigorously alive, all nerve and fire, with clear, cool eyes and face all set upon its task, calling up Heaven's hosts in some great tournament? Such have I seen, standing high on some cathedral tower overlooking a city. It might have been the angel of war. This human figure seemed to me the angel of revolution.

Revolution! It is a hard word. To some a word meaning almost nothing but what is harsh and ugly. Those who still read it so have not yet learnt that from nature's most fiery upheavals often spring the choicest flowers of earth. To some of her most admiring comrades Mrs. Leigh may sometimes have seemed unapproachable, almost awe-inspiring. But under that firm glance what have we learned to know? The history of her long martyrdom in Winson Green Gaol in 1909, when—slight, delicate woman as she is—she set her will against the whole weight of the prison system and overcame, taught us to reverence her inflexible spirit, her indomitable courage. Dublin has taught us more. It has revealed to us the heart which inspires the whole and makes it live. Who could read Mrs. Leigh's speech in the dock without emotion? Even to us who already knew and admired her it has thrown a new and brighter light on all that has gone before. Love for humanity, especially for the suffering part of it—a burning passion for reform speaks in every line. Militancy? Revolution? Yes, but militancy against all "dragons of the slime." Revolution, to hasten the kingdom of the coming of good, to bring the old world nearer by a stage to that vision of a new Heaven and a new earth when all sorrow and all tears shall be wiped away.

And with that endless readiness to suffer, on receiving the sentence, monstrous in vindictiveness, "It will not deter us," was the quiet remark. "Never to fail or falter or repent"—of such stuff are made those who, by their will, alter the face of the earth. Of such material is the woman who, for the sake of

her sisters, is fighting now in prison, her "back against the wall."

MILDRED E. MANDEL.

LEGAL DEFENCE FUND

Although a good response has been made to Miss Goodliffe's appeal for contributions to a Legal Defence Fund, a much larger sum will be needed than has yet been raised, if, in addition to defraying the heavy expenses of the recent Dublin Trial, every legal facility is to be offered Miss Helen Craggs for her defence in the forthcoming trial in October. Members of the Women's Social and Political Union have been deeply stirred by the monstrous sentences just passed upon the Suffragists in Dublin; they can show their sympathy in a practical manner by contributing liberally to the Legal Defence Fund, and by so doing can also help to secure the best legal assistance available for Miss Helen Craggs, when she comes up for trial on the charge of attempting to fire the residence of Mr. Lewis Harcourt. A full list of the contributions to the Fund will be published in next week's VOTES FOR WOMEN; they should be sent as soon as possible to Miss Goodliffe (Hon. Treasurer, Legal Defence Fund), 62, High Street, Hampstead, N.W.

A REBEL WOMAN LIBERAL

The following letter has been sent to the Secretary of the Broadstone Branch of the Women's Liberal Association in answer to a challenge thrown out to the women of East Dorset by Captain Guest, Member of Parliament for that constituency:—

Dear Mrs. Dewhurst,—I wish to tell you I have decided to resign my position as President of the Broadstone Branch of the Women's Liberal Association. I can no longer hold an official position, feeling as strongly opposed as I do towards the attitude of the Government on the question of women's enfranchisement and their methods of treating women political prisoners.

I also deeply regretted that the Government defeated Sir G. Boscawen's Housing Bill for party

reasons. I believe when women have won the vote their influence will counterbalance the increasing strength of the "Party System," and that they will value the needs of the nation beyond the demands of "Party." I understand Captain Guest said he looked to the women of East Dorset to express their opinion on the question of women's enfranchisement. I therefore feel bound to act as I am doing. I should like to add that I feel nothing but regret at severing my association with the members of the club, and thank you all for your unfailing kindness and goodwill. Believe me, yours sincerely,

KATHLEEN H. EVERETT.

MILITANT ADVICE

I say that in my opinion you must raise yourselves a little above the level of the day, and, if you can, endeavour to take the view of the transaction we are now engaged in that the historian will take when he comes to perform his final office.—The Rt. Hon. William Ewart Gladstone on the Report of the Parnell Commission, 1890.

"The House of Commons," said the late Mr. Henry Richards, "is like the kingdom of Heaven in one respect, though it is very unlike it in other respects; but it is like it in this, it suffereth violence and the violent take it by force." . . . "All nonsense, sir," he would say, "the way Butt goes on. He thinks he will get something out of the English by rubbing them down. Nonsense; rub them up, sir, that's the thing to do; rub them up. Make them uncomfortable. That's the right policy!"—From "The Life of Charles Stewart Parnell," by R. Barry O'Brien.

When any one or more shall take upon them to make laws, whom the people have not appointed so to do, they make laws without authority, which the people are not therefore bound to obey; by which means they come again to be out of subjection, and may constitute to themselves a new legislature as they think best, being in full liberty to resist the force of those who without authority would impose anything upon them.—Locke on Civil Government.

THE BOYS STOOD ON THE BURNING DECK



"If the Nationalist and Labour members had not been present in large numbers to support the Government in last night's division, nothing could have saved the Liberal Ministry from defeat."—Daily Press.

"The boys stood on the burning deck,
Whence Elbank had fled."

MANCHESTER'S ANSWER TO THE GOVERNMENT

Utter Defeat of Government Candidate—Some Letters from Electors.

Result:—
 Sir J. S. Randles (G.) 5,573
 Mr. Gordon Hewart (L.) 3,371
 Con. Maj. 1,203
 Result in December, 1910—Sir G. Kemp (L.) 5,559; A.
 Bonar Law (C.) 5,114; L. Maj. 445.

NOT ON FREE TRADE, BUT ON VOTES FOR WOMEN

Dear Miss Pankhurst,—I have just heard your speech in the Coal Exchange. I feel it a duty to compliment you on the extremely sensible and moderate way in which you put your case. But also I must say that I feel disgusted at the tactics of a large number of your male opponents who were present—business men who pride themselves on their level-headedness and integrity, yet exhibited their unreliable braininess by mean malice and their sheer ignorance of fundamental justice by attempting to turn your most appealing sentiments into ridicule and your most reasonable utterances into jests.

I confess that up to this day I have rather looked askance at some of your party's militant tactics, but now when I more fully realise the great obstacles you have to contend against, I must say that, were I a woman, I would not stay one jot in attempting to secure the elementary justice you are asking for. In my opinion it would be no crime to take such means that would "stagger humanity" in order to bring the Government and the "level-headed business men" to their senses.

Wishing you the speediest success to the cause you and your friends are so splendidly fighting for.—Yours faithfully,
 FIDUS ACHATES.

Manchester, August 7, 1912.

My name and address, which you will please treat as confidential, is enclosed herein.

The above letter was sent to me by a North-West Manchester elector with a Liberal mock polling card on which was written the full name and address of the sender. The cross against the name of the Liberal candidate was scored through, as a sign that this was a vote lost to the Liberal candidate.

Another letter ran: "I am an ardent Home Ruler. Yet I believe far more in the emancipation of a sex than of a nation. So, consequently, I wish you 'God speed' in your cry of 'Keep the Liberals out!'"

I received these messages on returning to our Committee Rooms in Cheetham Hill Road, at the close of what was by far the biggest and most striking demonstration of the election, but which all the newspapers combined to boycott.

This demonstration, on the eve of the poll, consisted of a fine procession of women under the militant purple, white, and green banners and a great open-air gathering of men and women at Piccadilly.

As a preliminary to the procession, a women's meeting was held in the Houldsworth Hall, Deansgate. During that meeting the news came to us that Mrs. Leigh and Gladys Evans had been sentenced to five years' penal servitude in Ireland. Manchester women have not been accustomed to march through the streets to show their demand for enfranchisement as Londoners have done, and Manchester is in many ways distressingly conventional; but this news nerved the women on. As we came out of the hall a man rushed up to me, with agitated face, and said: "I have been a Liberal and a Home Ruler all my life, but this is too awful! I will never vote for the Government again until they do right by the women! What can I do to help you?" I said, "March with us," and he came.

Our procession grew as we went up Peter's Street, through Albert Square, and by Cross Street and Market Street to Piccadilly. The roads were lined with sympathising crowds, who greeted us kindly, clapping and cheering as we passed. Many fell into line behind us and many walked along beside us, till the roads were densely thronged, and it was difficult to keep the way clear in front. There was a great and constant demand for "plasters," as the people called the little circular gum labels printed with "Votes for Women" in white and purple that we had to give away. One friendly youth walked beside us, dealing them out as fast as he could—everyone wanted to wear the Suffragette colours that day!

At Piccadilly, behind the site of the old Infirmary, where we held our meeting, we spoke from two, and eventually from three platforms; but, though the people kept very quiet to give our voices the best possible chance, the crowds were far too vast for all to hear.

When question time came, just as in every other meeting of the campaign, the questions were practically answered for us. If somebody asked, "Why do you oppose the Liberal when he says he's in favour?" or, "Do you think the Tories are any better?" ever so many members of the audience would eagerly chime in, to explain our anti-Government election policy—and very well they did it; indeed it seemed hardly necessary for us to talk at all!

But, than mere questioners, there were far, far more people anxious to give us sympathy and encouragement and assurances that they would do as we wished, and many of those who promised to support us did so with so much pathos and sincerity that I felt proud to have been born in Manchester amongst these people.

There must be something strangely wrong with our system of Government that life should be so hard, that things should be so wrong when human nature is so often great and good, and hearts are so readily moved that crowds of men and women are found to weep at the hand-grasp of a daughter whose father was a leader amongst them years ago.

Audiences in Finsbury Park and Brighton may howl down women speakers because of windows broken for the Vote and militancy in Ireland, but in the North Country, in the heart of the industrial districts, they know too much of the serious things of life for that, and because they have learnt in a hard school they are able—oh, far more so than Cabinet Ministers—to put aside the little from the great, and to realise that human freedom is, of all things, the most precious, and must be won, cost what it may. So the broken windows, the hatchet throwing, and the theatre firing were complained of only by the few in Manchester, and the same is true of Crewe.

The resolution, that "this meeting calls upon the Government to put into the Reform Bill provisions for securing Votes for Women on terms of equality with men," was carried by overwhelming majorities at every platform, and with three cheers for Votes for Women the great meeting should have ended, but the audience remained eager for more, till every copy of *VOTES FOR WOMEN* had been sold, and all the literature given away.

GREAT MEETINGS

Another notable meeting of the campaign was held on the previous Tuesday evening in the Cheetham Town Hall. The building was crowded with men and women, and as soon as I mounted the platform I realised that this was the place where I first asked Mr. Winston Churchill whether the Government would give Votes to Women as long ago as December, 1905. On that occasion I had been dragged into an ante-room, locked up there, and obliged to escape through the window. The incident came back to me so clearly that I could not refrain from telling the audience, who rose to all the points, and cheered when they heard of the escape.

Towards the close of our meeting a little band of youths forced their way in, and stood by the door, shouting and laughing noisily. I told them that I knew they were puffed up with pride because the Government was about to present them with the vote, and assured them that we could sympathise with them, and that if the Government would promise to do the same for us we should throw up our caps with joy. This seemed to please the youths, who at once gave cheers for us and voted for our resolution, which was carried with practical unanimity. As we left the building they shouted, "You're a winner!"

As the result proved, they spoke true. Our Stevenson's Square meetings both at the dinner-hour and in the evening were always exceedingly successful. Every one of our speakers appeared to make what Americans call "a hit," for whenever one went into the Square whilst one of them was speaking, one was stopped, dozens of times, with requests for the speaker's name, and assurances that her arguments were going home.

The Liberal newspapers have agreed that this election in North-West Manchester was fought on the issue of Free Trade versus Protection. They prefer to describe their defeat as "a blow to Free Trade," than to admit that votes for women had anything to do with the result. Yet the Conservatives declared all through the contest that they were not fighting on the Free Trade question, and Mr. Asquith, in writing the customary letter of encouragement to the Liberal candidate, himself referred to the Reform Bill as one of the issues on which the election would be decided.

Newspaper editors sit writing in their offices, but we Suffragettes spent all our days in the midst of the electors. We could not fail to know something of their thoughts, and certainly Free Trade and Protection held but a small place in these. Manchester working men and women know that neither Free Trade nor Protection will strike at the root of the evils under which they suffer, or will materially alter their conditions either way.

We have had Free Trade in this country for a long, long time; but still we have sweating, overcrowding, preventable industrial diseases, and chronic unemployment sapping the manhood and womanhood of our country and running riot in our midst. In America they have a high protective tariff, and though amongst some sections of the working classes and in some forms of employment the standard of living is higher than it is here, this fact is due to its being a new and rapidly expanding country, and the recent strike at Lawrence, Massachusetts, has proved that the wages of cotton operatives in New England are even lower than in Lancashire.

North-West Manchester electors came to

me with many doubts and many questionings, but no one ever raised, as an objection to our by-election policy, the view that it might injure Free Trade. The chief question always was whether our anti-Government policy would really further the cause of votes for women, whether it would really force the Government to put women in the Reform Bill. That was the great point on which everyone who was not altogether converted to it wanted to hear more.

No, the tariff question was never, never raised, but on such questions as the sweating of women's labour, infant mortality, the piteous poverty of working class widows, the unfair discrimination against women under the Insurance Act, and the mutilation of the "White Slave Traffic" Bill—the promise of which was used to buy off the Liberal women's clamour for the vote—audiences of men and women were moved even to tears.

Yes; I am absolutely certain that large numbers of votes were cast against the Government in North-West Manchester because the Government has refused to put votes for Women in the Reform Bill.

Miss Evelyn Billing, Miss Barbara Joule, Miss Wilson, Miss Jarvis, Mrs. Archdale, Dr. Jones, Dr. Helen Hanson, Mrs. Brailsford, Miss Leonora Tyson, Miss Kelley, Miss Beley, Miss Naylor, Miss Douglas Smith, Miss Adela Pankhurst, Miss Burke, Miss Rochfort, Miss Melrose, Miss Anderson, Mrs. Beldon, with Miss Wallwork and other Manchester friends all helped during the campaign.

Nine children living in the district worked like little factory hands in folding bills.

E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

The following appeared in the *Manchester Guardian* on Saturday:—
 Sir,—In your leading article on the Manchester by-election you describe the defeat of the Liberal candidate as "a blow to Free Trade," and you declare that Free Trade versus Protection was the supreme issue of the contest.

As a Manchester woman and one who had many talks with the voters in this election, I wish to challenge your statement. Free Trade has been established in this country for a very long time, and Free Trade seems likely to continue for a long time yet. A by-election can hardly affect it. Even the Conservative candidate and his supporters declared that the tariff question was not the issue on which they were fighting. Moreover, the majority of the electors are fully aware that neither Free Trade nor Protection will change very much the lives and conditions of the working class.

many, many men who came up to the foot of the platform at my meetings and asked me (sometimes as the daughter of one who was a pioneer in many a movement for freedom in the city and had been their leader in many a good cause) to advise them how to cast their votes in the best interests of woman suffrage. Others came up to say that they recognised their duty was to vote against the Government candidate in this election because the Government had refused to put votes for women in the Reform Bill. This was not strange, for even Mr. Asquith stated in his letter of support to Mr. Gordon Hewart that the Franchise Bill was one of the issues of the election, and undoubtedly large numbers of the electorate cast their votes against the Government because they have not included women in the Bill.—Yours, &c.,
 E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

3, Cambridge Lodge Studios, 42, Linden Gardens, Notting Hill Gate, W.

FROM A MANCHESTER ELECTOR

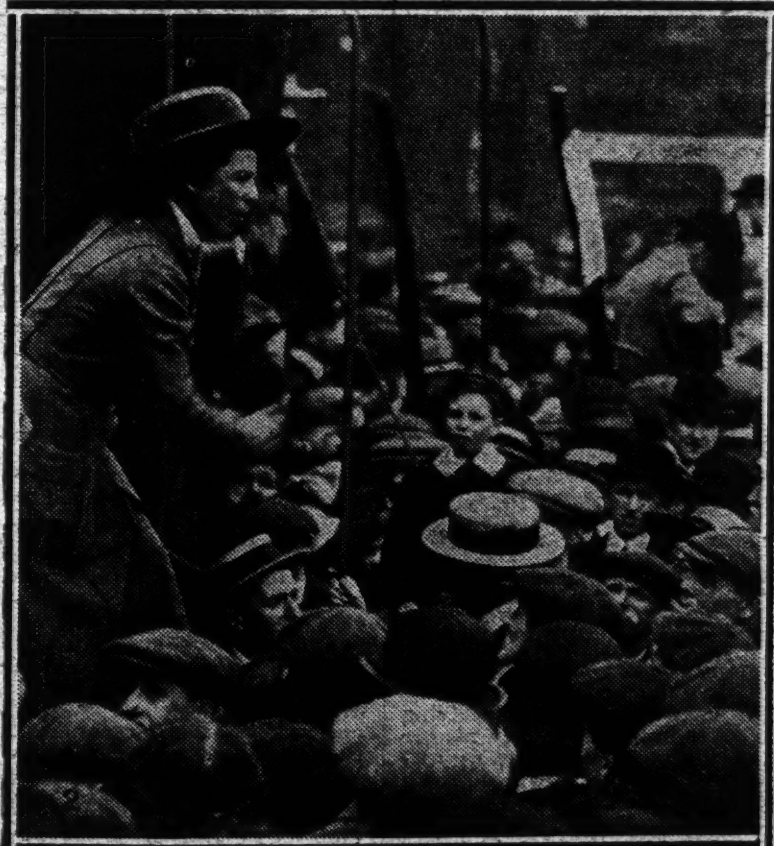
To the Editors of *VOTES FOR WOMEN*.

Sirs,—As a former elector in the North-West Manchester Parliamentary Division and a consistent Liberal voter and worker for many years, I may be pardoned a few words on the magnificent result of the recent contest. I say "magnificent" because I believe the defeat of the Government candidate at this juncture makes for real progress—the progress of the common cause.

Although both party organs tacitly conspired to ignore the bearing of Woman Suffrage on the campaign, there is little doubt that the influence of the brave workers of the W.S.P.U. turned hundreds of votes.

The logic of the women's claim appealed to the innate sense of justice of the "man-in-the-street." The most enthusiastic and crowded meetings were those addressed by the Suffragettes. Moving amongst the audience surrounding the platform one could not fail to be impressed by the attitude of the public. Even opponents listened patiently, willing to be converted; whilst over and over again I have heard admiration expressed with regard to the quality of the speaking and the evident sincerity of the speakers. Indeed, more than once has it been remarked to me that the women were the only ones "who knew what they wanted and were out to get it."

Whilst I am no "apologist for arson," as a well-known M.P. (who declines to give his name), writing in this morning's *Standard*, insultingly calls the Women's Social and Political Union, I should like in conclusion to voice my indignation against the frightful, unjust sentences passed by



A Street Meeting in Manchester.

But I talked with large numbers of North-West Manchester electors both privately and in the form of question and answer at my meetings, and never once was it raised as an objection to our anti-Government policy that the cause of Free Trade might be endangered. Other questions, doubts, and objections were many times raised, but never that one.

The main point on which my questioners needed reassurance was, of course, as to whether our anti-Government policy would really advance our cause and would really help in inducing the present Administration to grant votes to women. I know that in many cases I was able to convince electors that this was so.

Manchester has been the birthplace of many reform movements, and large numbers of Manchester people are still able to put aside stereotyped party cries and to listen to the voice of conscience unguided by the party Press. There were

an Irish judge upon two Englishwomen. These women had not, I firmly believe, the intention to criminally destroy either life or property.

Their idea was, I should gather from the evidence, merely a desire to demonstrate the evil effects of the stupid and provocative language of a Minister of the Crown, who dared the women to emulate the Chartists in their struggle for the extension of the franchise when they burnt down Nottingham Castle.

So, reviewing all the circumstances, I could hardly believe my ears, when, returning after a business journey to Manchester on the eve of the poll, I was told that a penalty of five years' penal servitude had been inflicted. Yet Persecution will hasten and not delay the triumph of this truly religious cause. In the words of Tertullian, "the blood of the martyrs is the seed of the Church."—Yours in sympathy,
 HERBERT J. SALT.

THE TREATMENT OF SUFFRAGIST PRISONERS

The Home Office Pilloried Again

MISS ALICE WALTERS' STORY

It will be remembered that Miss Walters, who was sentenced on July 10 to four months in the second division for breaking a window of the Post Office, Regent Street, took part in a Hunger Strike as a protest against not receiving the prison treatment of a political offender. After a two-days' fast she was subjected to the torture of forcible feeding, and was so greatly affected by the outrage that an order was sent from the Home Office for her instant release, and she was taken home by two wardresses. She has sent us the following account of her experiences:—

When Miss Neill and I arrived at Holloway Miss Elsie Duval had been in prison a week, and, for some unknown reason, was withheld from us at first, but, by dint of persistent enquiry, we induced the authorities to let her join us on the third day. We were well treated personally, but what was the good of that? For all we knew, the next batch of Suffragist prisoners might be just as brutally treated as some had been before we came. We were still at the mercy of a generally vindictive and always capricious Government, who had chosen to give me four months in the second division for a first political offence. Here was an example of the injustice we were out to fight against. Our being well treated personally was no excuse for submitting to that injustice. It was our clear duty to protest—and we did. Having given ourselves four days to test our treatment, we decided to hunger strike on the fifth, but were so earnestly advised by the doctors to petition the Home Secretary, before beginning a practical protest, that we agreed to do so. The petition papers were brought post haste, we made our demands in due form, and a truce was called till the following Friday, to the evident relief of the medical officers, one of whom, when I gave him my reasons for protesting, could only remark gloomily, "Well, I wish you had got the Vote." I should like to emphasize the fact that I was met only with kindness by the prison authorities, until the Government compelled them to begin the hateful and barbarous practice of forcible feeding. The doctors evidently loathed their work. I was urged to abandon the hunger strike—to be fed by cup instead of tube, and at last to take the tube without resisting, as "only a few wild ones did that." However, my mind was already made up, and when, after a violent struggle, they finally overpowered me, I found myself on the floor, bent backwards over the seat of a chair, with several great wardresses on top of me—tearing out my hair, battering at me with their fists, and doing their best, in a dutiful attempt at carrying out Government orders, to break my back as well as my spirit. My lips, too, were cut, and afterwards became so swollen that I could not speak without difficulty. But all this was only physical, and nothing to the agony of mind that I suffered. To be subjected to such treatment is an outrage on human dignity—degrading alike to the recipient and to all

who are forced to take part in it. They call it "medical treatment"; yet a patient whose life cannot be saved except by a difficult operation, must give his consent before it can be done, and even an imbecile cannot be operated upon without the approval of his relatives. It is reserved for the Government "patients" only—when they are Suffragists, and fighting for justice—to be coldly degraded to the level of the beast; and this, not in support of a principle, but of the organised trickery called "party politics." The will to live or die at the dictates of conscience is a human privilege, recognised and respected by all civilised communities, and the person deprived of it by overpowering violence cannot but feel that a deliberate and devilish attempt is being made to brutalise the mind and to destroy self-respect. Such humiliation is not to be borne, and I would not bear it. Had they dared to feed me again I believe I should have gone mad, and that was what the authorities evidently feared, for my physical state was not such as to necessitate my being released after being forcibly fed only once, and sent to the door of my home at Bristol in the charge of two wardresses. My mental state, I see, was described by the Home Secretary as "hysterical." According to M.P.'s, magistrates, and certain sections of the Press, militant Suffragettes always are in that state of mind. Up to this time it has been no reason for not imprisoning them; I wonder why it should be made one for releasing me?

ALICE MARY WALTERS.

ARREST OF DR. ETHEL SMYTH

In the House of Commons on Wednesday, August 7, Mr. Lansbury asked the Home Secretary whether his attention had been called to the recent proceedings against Dr. Ethel Smyth on a charge of complicity in the attempt to set fire to Nuneham; whether he is aware that there was no evidence against Dr. Smyth; that the case was heard in private; and that, as a consequence, misleading statements as to what took place have been published to the detriment of Dr. Smyth; and whether he proposes to take any steps to prevent any further cases being heard in private?

Mr. McKenna: I know nothing of this case except what I have read in the newspaper reports. These do not show any irregularity in the proceedings; but if my hon. friend will let me know on what evidence he founds his suggestion, I will of course make enquiry.

IN PRISON FOR RECENT MILITANT ACTION

DUBLIN.
Baines, Mrs. Jeannie. (Seven Months h.l.)
Evans, Miss G. (Five Years Penal Servitude.)
Hastler, Miss M. (Five Months.)
Houston, Miss. (Five Months.)
Leigh, Mrs. (Five Years Penal Servitude.)
Lloyd, Miss. (Five Months.)
Murphy, Miss Maggie. (Two Months.)
Murphy, Miss Jane. (Two Months.)
Palmer, Mrs. (Two Months.)
Steedington, Mrs. Sheehy. (Two Months.)
Webb, Miss H. (Five Months.)
HOLLOWAY.
Neill, Miss Marie. (Four Months.)
WANDSWORTH.
Gray, Mr. Charles. (Two Months h.l.)

THE CASE OF THE MISSES WYLIE

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Dear Editors,—In reference to this case may I enclose for your reading copies of the rejected and accepted letters written to the Home Secretary in response to a demand for an "unqualified" life promise in respect of abstention from all militant action as the condition of release from Aylesbury Prison at the end of May last? My sister held out two days longer, her offer of a twelve months' abstention (accepted at the London Sessions in the case of Mrs. A. Singer) being rejected, and a promise as stringent as that required of me enforced. As to Mr. McKenna's dictum that the extracted promise carries "a moral if not a legal force," I am glad that even such as he recognise the moral spirit of the militant women; yet I wonder at the same time whether any man or woman with moral sense would look upon Mr. McKenna or any one of this pledge-breaking Cabinet as an authority on the moral law of extracted promises! Not I, most certainly.—Yours faithfully,

EMMA WYLIE.

29, Bassett Road, W., August 10, 1912.

The enclosures are as follow:

Aylesbury North Prison, May 23, 1912.

Sir,—I am told that in consequence of the serious illness and advanced age of my mother you propose to release me from prison where I have already been more than two months on condition that I abstain from militant action against the Government.

I agree to abstain from militant action, but not from active propagandist action of a "constitutional" kind, during the lifetime of my dear mother, whose natural anxiety for her daughters in prison has been much increased by the unhappy necessity we were under of reclaiming the privileges we were so recently deprived of.—Yours faithfully,

EMMA WYLIE.

To the Right Hon. R. McKenna.

This was refused as a "pledge" by the Home Secretary, and the following letter sent:—

Aylesbury Prison, May 24, 1912.

Sir,—I hear that although my mother is seriously ill, and is in her ninety-first year, you refuse to release me unless I promise to refrain from militant action. For the sake of my mother I agree to refrain from window breaking (militant action), but I protest with all the force I can against the cowardice of a Government which demands such a promise under such conditions.—Yours faithfully,

EMMA WYLIE.

To the Right Hon. R. McKenna.

Note.—The first promise was rejected, and an "unqualified" one demanded. The second letter was returned to me by the prison officials with a request to write it again, and to write "militant action," not "window smashing." I declined to write the letter again, but crossed the "window smashing" word out and substituted the other.—E.W.

"MR. WINSTON CHURCHILL HELD UP BY SUFFRAGISTS"

Londoners going home from business on Tuesday afternoon were greeted by the above announcement, which stared at them from every *Poll Mall Gazette* poster. Numerous accounts of the incident appeared in the Press, most of them testifying to the risk run by two fearless women in placing themselves directly in front of a car going at high speed. The following report of what occurred appeared in the *Standard*:—

As Mr. Winston Churchill was driving back to his house in Sandwich Bay his car was stopped by two Suffragists, who formed a barricade across the road with their bicycles. When he had thus been compelled to receive their message, they allowed his car to proceed. Mr. Churchill seemed much perturbed by the risks taken by these women.

The *Daily Chronicle* describes the incident in its own characteristic manner as follows:—

Mr. Winston Churchill had an unpleasant adventure with Suffragettes at Sandwich on Monday evening.

As he was motoring back to Mr. Astor's house in Sandwich Bay, where he and Mrs. Churchill are staying for a holiday, two women on bicycles rode their machines across the road and stopped in front of his car.

Fortunately for the women who adopted this foolhardy method of interviewing the First Lord, the speed of the car had just been reduced, and the skilful way in which the car was handled and pulled up by the chauffeur averted a very serious accident.

The road through the bay is a private one, and it is a long sweep down hill. Cars usually travel along it at a great pace. If Mr. Churchill's car had been going even at the regulation speed of

twenty miles an hour the result of the women's mad freak would have been certain death.

A PERSONAL ACCOUNT

The following account has been sent us by two ladies who are spending their summer holidays at Ramsgate:—

On Friday we cycled to Sandwich Bay for a day's picnic. On the bleak, windswept foreshore we could find no shelter, so we pitched our camp at the roadside, and as we waited for our kettle to boil, a car drove past. In that car we saw Mr. Winston Churchill! We waited patiently for his return, so that we might speak to him; but he did not come back, and we went home that time disappointed.

The next day, as we were propping our cycles against the wall of the Coastguard Station we saw two men who, shadowed by a car, were walking along the road some little distance away. We strolled gently towards them, but even the distant vision of two women was enough to make Mr. Churchill realise that "discretion is the better part of valour." And once again we saw the First Lord of the Admiralty whirl past us in his car.

Three hundred yards down the road he got out and went into the Golf Club. A few hours later we saw the same car bringing Mr. Churchill back. It deposited him on his doorstep, and we were forced to realise that any attempt to interview Mr. Churchill was, under such conditions as these, an absolute impossibility. He was always accompanied by men, evidently detectives, one of whom never left his side. His house is only a short distance from the Golf Club House, yet the car always fetched him from home, and one of the detectives would walk down to the gate

to see that no Suffragette was on the horizon before Mr. Churchill ventured on to the doorstep. Then he would be pushed hurriedly into the car, which would start at once at lightning speed, and deposit him at the Club house. The process was repeated on the return journey. There was evidently nothing for it but the desperate method of holding up his car.

On Monday we established ourselves by the roadside in time to see Mr. Churchill motor away, presumably to lunch, and we waited in patient content for his return. Presently, as we were making tea, we saw the car coming towards us, and seizing our bicycles, we rushed into the road and barred the way. The car pulled up with desperate suddenness, and one Cabinet Minister at least was compelled to listen to what we had to say with regard to the enfranchisement of women.

Then the car drove on again, and we went back to our deserted tea, only to be interrupted once more, this time by a messenger, who came to tell us how great were the risks we had run, and how deeply perturbed was Mr. Churchill lest we should have suffered any injury.

To Suffragettes in whose mind the memory of Black Friday was still clear, such consideration on the part of Mr. Churchill, the Home Secretary responsible for the outrages of that day, seemed a little out of place. We remembered that in this case he himself might have been inconvenienced by the sight of our suffering. We remembered, too, that bicycles, when mixed up with the interior of motor-cars, have a nasty knack of damaging the machinery, and we realised once again that consideration for us was, as on other occasions, not worth more than its surface value.

SOME COMMENTS

The Crown, finding that Mrs. Leigh intended to insist on Mr. Redmond being produced as a witness, and knowing that they could not attempt to save Mr. Redmond from this ordeal without covering their case with ridicule, decided at the last moment to postpone the hatchet charge, and to proceed against Mrs. Leigh for complicity in the Theatre Royal affair.

This hastily botched-up case, however, was so very weak, that the jury disagreed—the foreman stating that they were not satisfied as to the identification of Mrs. Leigh with the woman in Box A on the night in question. That this result should have been reached after the magnificently eloquent speech in which Mrs. Leigh, far from denying or apologising for her action, avowed herself a rebel, determined to rebel to the end against a system of government in which she had no voice, is a striking rebuff to the Government and a triumph for the militants—a rebuff and a triumph which cannot be wiped away by a more acquiescent jury's conviction next day, under stress of tremendous pressure from the Crown and the judge. The savage sentences inflicted on the convicted prisoners—five years' penal servitude for Miss Evans and Mrs. Leigh, seven months' hard labour for Mrs. Baker—cannot, of course, be allowed to stand. The judge himself was sufficiently ashamed of them to express the hope that they would speedily be revised by the proper authority. Revised they must be, and that without delay.—*Irish Citizen*.

In the case of the Dublin Suffragettes sentenced this week the complaint cannot be made that one has heard frequently of late in respect to other law-breakers, such as strikers, agitators, and the like, that there is too much sentimentalism in present day legislation. The offence committed by these unfortunate women was, of course, a serious one, even although they were careful before commencing operations to see that the building was emptied of its spectators—a fact, by the way, which the Press has not made clear; indeed in some cases quite the reverse, a few papers having actually not hesitated to state that the building was full at the time the Suffragettes made their attempt to set it on fire. But five years is a long term of imprisonment, and when we remember the extreme leniency with which male offenders have been treated it would really seem true that women are accorded "special" treatment, although not of the favourable kind that people would sometimes have one believe. There is little favour shown to Suffragettes at the present time, and the person would be far to seek I think who would not admit that they pay the full price for any breach against the law, whether great or small.—*Wallasey News*.

For the disturbance at the recent Asquith meeting two English Suffragettes were sentenced to five years' penal servitude. The particular offence alleged against them was that they attempted to burn the Theatre Royal. It is true that they had no grievance against the people in the theatre, and their offence, therefore, at a first glance, looks like arson, and for that the sentence seems commensurate with the offence. But there the similarity ends, and on a little reflection every thinking man will agree that the sentence is not only a harsh one, but a savage one. They were English ladies imbued with the dignity of their mission, and undoubtedly they did attempt to set fire to the Theatre Royal on the occasion. Denied constitutional redress of their grievances, or alleged grievances, only unconstitutional methods remained. From the first there was not the least danger of a conflagration, and the attempt on the theatre must be looked upon as an attempt, a more or less dangerous one it must be admitted, to bring under the notice of the electorate the question of woman suffrage. They were English ladies, and from their standpoint the attempted burning of the theatre was not at all incompatible with their ideals, and the fact that they were sentenced in Ireland is beside the question.

That the ideal that prompted these ladies to their actions is a great one is impossible to deny. The most progressive countries in the world have been foremost in adopting it. The greatest statesmen and the greatest sociologists have insisted not upon the desirability, but upon the absolute necessity of giving votes to women. Mr. Roosevelt, ex-President of America, places votes for women amongst the foremost planks in his Progressive platform, and America is answering to that rally. It must be, therefore, a matter of pain to see ladies, however misguided their actions have been, punished with such a savage sentence for endeavouring to procure what the best Governments and wisest statesmen have already conceded to their sisters in other countries.—*Enniscechy Echo*.

Once more humanity has been staggered. The sentences on the Suffragettes indicted with offences in Ireland are appalling. Two of the women charged with militant tactics at Dublin during Mr. Asquith's recent visit were on Wednesday sentenced to five years' penal servitude. Even the London Press is struck dumb. The leading journals offer no word of comment. An official of the Women's Social and Political Union stated on Wednesday night that they were shocked at the result. Evidently the screw is to be turned on the women. The greater the application of the screw, the sooner will their cause triumph.—*Woolwich Pioneer*.

"VOTES FOR WOMEN" HOLIDAY CAMPAIGN

"Votes for Women" Wanted Everywhere!

The VOTES FOR WOMEN Holiday Campaign is now being carried on from at least seventy centres in the British Isles. This round number does not include the tours that are being made in various parts of the country, or, of course, the innumerable smaller efforts that are being made everywhere by individual members of the Union to sell the paper, and make it known to new readers. We publish below two photographs illustrating this kind of individual enterprise. One of them shows a Suffragette, Miss Postlethwaite, selling VOTES FOR WOMEN outside the Flamstead almshouses. The other is a picture of Hemel Hempstead market, to which two members

gramme), and it would be a good plan for W.S.P.U. members and friends, who are visiting any of these, to communicate with Miss Margaret West, Mafeking House, Victoria Avenue, Hunstanton, who is organising the Holiday Campaign there, and will be glad of help even from those who can give only an hour or two of their time. Miss Methuen, who is staying in an inn near Edinburgh, tells us that she sells at least a dozen papers every day in one or another of the neighbouring villages. At Bath, Miss Tollemache drove about last week in a decorated wagonette, showing the VOTES FOR WOMEN posters, and a banner with the legend, "Wake up, England," which was received with enthusiasm

there who would gladly help if they were able to get into touch with her. Will they kindly write to her if they read this? Miss Annie Williams, who is organising the Holiday Campaign at Llandudno (Lisberg-holt, Mostyn Avenue) will also be glad to receive names of helpers. With Miss Lettice Floyd, she has visited Colwyn Bay, Rhos, and Rhyl. "The 'Fellowship Camp' of Clarionites," she writes, "consisting of men and women, has been twice visited, and copies of VOTES were sold. The men were inclined to be argumentative, and eager to show that the W.S.P.U. were really working to enfranchise the woman of property! A W.S.P.U. member who happened to be in the Camp assured me that, though they appeared aggressive, they (the Clarionites) secretly admire and respect us very much." A most flattering tribute to the Union's power was paid by a man to whom Miss Floyd offered a paper on Friday, after the Manchester result was made known. "No, thank you," he indignantly said, "not after Manchester!" One man declared that, "By Jove" it was time that we were 'ashamed' of ourselves, and one, who proudly confessed that he was a Wesleyan minister and an Individualist, and therefore, apparently, for those reasons against the Enfranchisement of Women, waved the paper aside with, "No, no! To take one would be an insult to my reason!" It was consoling to be able to murmur audibly, "Poor, poor reason, I'm sorry for thee." It would be too long a story, of course, to tell of the many to whom the knowledge of the truth was welcome.

To conclude, let us be practical. It must not be forgotten for a moment that the object of the Holiday Campaign is not only to add to the merriment and enjoyment of holiday-makers, both of those who sell and those who buy the paper, but also permanently to extend the circulation of VOTES FOR WOMEN, to widen its sphere of influence, and to establish it as a paper to be read regularly in all those districts that are being visited by Suffragettes this summer. To do this, the following means should be adopted wherever feasible:—

(1) Regular subscribers should be obtained. These could either order the paper

made to them. In remote country districts the village shop or post office might be induced to order a weekly supply of papers, or, perhaps a resident Suffragist would undertake to order papers and deliver them weekly to subscribers.

(2) Newsagents everywhere should be approached with a view to their stocking the paper and displaying the weekly as well as the picture poster. This would greatly facilitate the obtaining of new subscribers to the paper, for there would be no difficulty then in procuring the paper. We are glad to be able to say that already many newsagents all over the country have, in consequence of the Holiday Campaign, begun to stock the paper, and now find it to their advantage to do so.

(3) The picture poster should be displayed wherever a friendly window, whether of shop, house or cottage can be found to receive it. It should be of great assistance in advertising the existence of VOTES FOR WOMEN, and, once introduced to people, the paper itself will do the rest.

(4) Regular paper sellers should be established everywhere, so that when holiday-makers have returned to town and to work, the weekly sales in market towns, seaside places, &c., may continue for the benefit of the residential population. This should not be difficult to arrange, for the pioneer work will have been done by the Suffragette visitor, and it will be quite easy for any resident to carry it on after her departure.

Lastly, Mrs. Ayrton Gould (W.S.P.U., 4, Clement's Inn, Strand, London), will be glad to hear from all holiday-makers who will write to her, giving her their names, their permanent and holiday addresses, and the amount of time they feel they can give to the Campaign; she will then put them into touch with others, if desired, or will make suggestions for their working on independent lines. She will also be glad to receive accounts of what is being done everywhere, accompanied if possible by photographs. She reminds readers further, that she will be pleased to lend decorations in the colours for wagonettes, bicycles, &c.; to members, and to send them free handbills to advertise the paper. The following may be ordered from her:



Selling the Paper at an Almshouse.

of the Women's Social and Political Union cycled many miles in the rain in order to sell the paper to the farmers and their friends. We warmly recommend the weekly market in country towns as a good field of campaign, for it is unaffected by the weather, and a good crowd of people ready to buy will always be found there.

From many different quarters come amusing accounts of different schemes adopted for spreading the sale of the paper. Dr. Alice Ker means to sell it at an open-air concert in Banffshire this week, while Miss Richards, in Sunderland, is planning open-air meetings for the express purpose of selling the paper. This last is also an excellent scheme. All you have to do is to raise the VOTES FOR WOMEN special banner, get one or two helpers to carry the new picture poster and the current weekly newbill, and then mount a chair and begin explaining the movement, taking as your text some article or extract from the paper. A crowd soon collects. Being holiday time you do not wish to detain them long, so you can soon bring your speech to an end with a short account of the contents of the paper in your hand, and then, saying that instead of taking a collection you will ask everyone for a penny, in return for which they will receive a copy of the best political weekly in existence, you can begin to dispose of your stock. Miss Georgina Brackenbury has been holding meetings and selling large numbers of the paper during August, in Cromer, Sheringham, Overstrand, West Runton, Mundesley, and Blakeney. The audiences were large in every case, and keenly interested, and bought readily, sixteen dozen copies being sold in one week only. For the rest of the month these meetings will be continued in other East Anglian watering places (see pro-

gramme). She visited two flower shows, a gymkhana, and some sports, and had good sales everywhere. We read also, in the *Westminster Gazette*, that in Cambridge, "the militants have taken up a pitch opposite the post office for the sale or distribution of literature." Really, holiday-makers everywhere will be grateful to the W.S.P.U. and to VOTES FOR WOMEN for adding so much gaiety and colour to the gloomy, wet summer of 1912!

A week or two ago we announced Miss Millett's intention of sitting on the top of her garden wall in the Isle of Wight, and selling the paper to the people on the coaches as they stopped in the road below. She writes to us now that the plan has met with great success, and she has sold many papers in this way to the coach passengers, who were both surprised and excited as they came along the road to find a Suffragette sitting there and waiting for them. Not only is VOTES FOR WOMEN wanted everywhere—it is everywhere.

Our readers will also remember that at Swindon the amusing device was adopted of flying the VOTES FOR WOMEN posters in the form of kites. Miss Kate Foster writes us as follows about this: "The idea of flying VOTES FOR WOMEN kites worked splendidly, and caused great excitement among the small boys of Swindon. I bought some tissue paper in the colours to make tails, and the little boys set to work to make kites for themselves, and soon had several flying. I dressed myself in the colours, and went out to send the first kite up myself in order to win the sympathies of the mothers, who stood at their doors watching with eager interest."

A vigorous campaign is being carried on at Harrogate, and Miss Hughes, at 18a, King's Road (opposite Sra Gardene) thinks there are probably W.S.P.U. members



At a Country Market.

regularly from their newsagent or nearest Suffrage Shop, or could take out a yearly subscription from headquarters. Those who buy the paper once, whether cottagers or others, should be visited the following week, and the above suggestions should be

Special VOTES FOR WOMEN banners, 1s. 3d. each singly, or 1s. for others ordered with the first one (a few hand-stencilled ones at 1s. 6d. each); also the specially designed picture poster, 3d. each singly, or 2d. each for others ordered simultaneously.

A MESSAGE FROM COLORADO

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN. Dear Editors,—A friend of mine has been sending me stray copies of VOTES FOR WOMEN, and I have read with absorbed interest of the heroic struggles you are making for your "inalienable rights to liberty." I have always been proud of my English ancestry because of their indomitable defence of their personal liberty, but that Englishmen should object to sharing their freedom with their mothers, wives, and sisters is one of the mysterious contradictions of human nature.

Here in Colorado women have been people for nearly twenty years, and it seems incomprehensible that it ever could have been otherwise. The women all vote here. The elections are peaceful and pleasant. Fathers and mothers and babies are often at the polling place together. Everything is as sociable as an afternoon tea-party. It took the women of Massachusetts, without the suffrage, fifty-five years to get a law making married mothers the guardians of their children. It took the women of Colorado, with the Suffrage, just fifty-five days, after the convening of the legislature, to accomplish the same purpose. As soon as women felt

that they had a voice in the laws, they began to study them; and when they discovered a few outrageous laws, such as that fathers could will away even their unborn children, they raised such a storm of protest that the offending statutes were wiped off the books. In this State women have equal rights with men. A married woman owns her own property, is equal guardian of her children with the father, can contract, make a will, vote, exactly as if she were a man. A man cannot will away more than half his property from his wife, and vice versa. It is acknowledged that Colorado has the best child laws in the United States.

I had the naive experience of being the first woman nominated and elected to a legislative body in the United States, and helped to pass the first woman's Bill, raising the "Age of Consent" for girls to eighteen years.

That you may persevere in your holy "war" is my fervent desire, and may your courage and devotion be crowned with the success that they rightly deserve.

—Yours, &c.,
(Mrs.) CARRIE CLYDE HOLLY.
Pueblo, Colo., July 16, 1912.

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WORKING GIRL'S PRAYER

The following prayer is quoted by *The Outlook* (U.S.A.) as being offered three times a day by the girls who are striking in the works of the Kalamazo (Michigan) Corset Company:—

O God our Father, You who are generous, Who said, "Ask and ye shall receive," we, Your children, humbly beseech You to grant that we may receive enough wages to clothe and feed our bodies, and just a little leisure, O Lord, to give our souls a chance to grow.

Our employer, who has plenty, has denied our request. He has misused the law to help him crush us; but we appeal to You, our God and Father, and to Your laws, which are stronger than the laws made by man.

O Christ, Thou who waited through the long night in the Garden of Gethsemane for one of Your followers who was to betray You; Who, in agony for us, didst say to Your disciples, "Will you not watch one hour with Me?" give strength to those who are now on picket duty, not to feel too bitterly when those who promised to stand with us in our struggles betray us.

O God, we pray you to give to the fathers and mothers of our strikers a chance to bring up their helpless little ones.

You Who let Lot and his family escape from the wicked city of Sodom, won't You please save the girls now on strike? Help us to get a living wage.

O Lord, Who knowest the sparrow's fall, won't You help us to resist when the modern devil who has charge of our work takes advantage of our poverty to lead us astray? Sometimes, O Lord, it is hard. Hunger and cold are terrible things, and they make us weak. We want to do right. Help us to be strong.

O God, we have appealed to the ministers, we have appealed to the public, we have appealed to the Press. But if all these fail us in our need we know that You will not fail us.

Grant that we may win this strike, and that the union may be strong, so that we may not need to cry so often, "Lord, deliver us from temptation."

We ask this, Lord, for the sake of the little children, helpless and suffering; for the girls who may some day be mothers of children, and for those girls who dislike sin, but are forced into it through poverty.

O Christ, Who didst die on the cross, we will try to ask You to forgive those who would crush us, for perhaps they do not know what they do.

All this we ask in the name of the lowly Carpenter's Son. Amen.

"AN ASSAULT"

According to the *Daily Chronicle*, it does not take much to alarm Government officials nowadays. The following amusing account of the scare produced at the Admiralty by the arrival on the pavement of a few ladies dressed in purple, white and green, appeared in that paper a few days ago:—

People hurrying to business along the Mall and under the new Admiralty Arch, about 9 o'clock yesterday morning, were astonished to see a crowd of militant Suffragettes, male and female, in the full war paint of purple, green, and white, rush down the few steps from Cockspur Street and Spring Gardens and seize a gentleman in front of the new Admiralty buildings.

The victim, a quiet, elderly gentleman, who appeared to be taking his morning constitutional in the park, was quite helpless in face of this combined assault, apparently unexpected and unprovoked; yet one or two policemen who stood not far away made no attempt to interfere and protect him.

The Admiralty hall porter and several messengers, however, were more sympathetic and responsive. Thinking that the Admiralty was to be attacked, probably in revenge for the heavy sentences passed on the Suffragettes in Dublin on Wednesday, they rushed out and endeavoured to prevent the raiders from approaching the building. From this a serious scuffle occurred, and one of the women received a rather heavy blow on the face.

When the excitement had worn off, explanations were made.

The "assault" was merely a "put up job." The London managers of the Edison Cinematograph Company wanted to obtain realistic pictures of a Suffragette demonstration. Actors and actresses had been engaged, and with the permission of the police authorities a meeting was held in Trafalgar Square. Afterwards the "Suffragettes" marched to the Mall, and way-laid Mr. Maro McDermott, whose features are familiar to all frequenters of cinema-theatres.

The intervention of the Admiralty officials was an unpremeditated item in the scene, and at first their indignation was great at the attitude of the police, who did nothing but enjoy the joke. After the meaning of the "raid" had been explained they entered into the fun of the affair.

The people most perplexed were the speculators who, being due in business offices, could not see the thing through.

OUR POST-BOX

"THINKING IMPERIALLY."

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Dear Sir,—A few nights ago I paid a visit to Earl's Court Exhibition, and incidentally the Anti-Suffrage bureau. There I was asked to sign an Anti-Suffrage petition. On refusing to do this, and giving as one of my reasons that I came from Australia, where we have the suffrage and know the benefits derived from it, I was informed by the Anti-Suffragist in charge "that, after all, the colonies were a very unimportant part of the Empire." If this is the universal Anti-Suffragist opinion, I can well understand their inability to think imperially.—Yours, &c.,
P. CHOLE LYSTER.

"A Pensioner" writes:—

"The attitude of the Government towards women must be very trying to the patriotism of thousands of men, old and young. When the Indian Mutiny broke out in 1857, I, as a soldier, volunteered to a regiment that was then sent to India to help to quell the Mutiny. Again, in 1859, when the China War broke out, I volunteered to a regiment that was sent from India to China. To-day, if I knew that in the future women were to be treated as they now are, I would not go a dozen yards to defend England. There must be thousands of men in England of a like mind. I do not forget the heroic way in which my mother worked—slaved, I should say—to bring up four of us, the eldest only nine, on the death of father. Were she alive, she would look with scorn on me if she saw I had no sympathy with the women's cause."

A HOLIDAY GAME.

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Madam,—I have invented a new game of Patience, which shows the escape from prison of the Queens, who are originally guarded, or, I should say, locked up, by the Knaves. Possibly all your supporters are too strenuous to care for Patience, but if you think the idea would be of any use for your paper or your friends, I shall be pleased to send you the particulars, of course, gratis.—Yours, &c.,
G. NOEL, Capt. R.N.
10, Carlton Road, Putney Hill, S.W.

THAT CLOCK AGAIN!

A paper-seller who took up her stand outside Selfridge's shop on the day when the news reached London of the savage sentences passed on Mrs. Leigh and Miss Gladys Evans, sold three dozen papers in an hour, and was given a shilling for one copy by a buyer who wanted to show her admiration for the militants. Similarly, news comes of a small paper-selling enterprise just undertaken in Huddersfield, where a little club has been formed, whose members undertake to sell three copies of the paper apiece every week. This is an idea well worth copying, for anybody can undertake to get rid of three papers, and as every paper-seller knows, the three papers will soon become three dozen, even in the hands of a novice—especially when some militant outbreak "puts back the clock" and stirs the imagination of the public.

FUNERAL OF NURSE PITFIELD

In a heavy downpour of rain a large crowd gathered at Kensal Green Cemetery on Saturday last to pay a last tribute to a brave and honoured comrade. As Ellen Pitfield was laid to rest those words spoken by her a little over a year ago: "Liberty, I will protect thee, and Principle, as long as there is blood in my veins, I will fight for thee!" seemed to ring through one's brain. Bravely had Nurse Pitfield fought, and the spirit that breathed forth from her life will inspire others to follow in her footsteps. Among the large number of beautiful wreaths in the colours was noticeable one from the W.S.P.U. headquarters, 4, Clement's Inn, with the words: "I have fought a good fight; I have finished my course; I have kept the faith"; one from Miss Sylvia Pankhurst, the Men's Federation for Woman Suffrage, the Men's Political Union. The following local W.S.P.U. unions also sent wreaths: Hammersmith, Croydon, Richmond and Kew, Balham, North Islington, Streatham, North-West London, Paddington, Wimbledon, &c.

TROPHY OF HONOUR PROUDLY WON

It is no uncommon sight to-day in omnibuses, trains, restaurants, and all or any public place to see the modest silver badge—a barred gate with a broad arrow and chain attached—pinned proudly in a conspicuous place where all can see it, and those who happen to know can recognise that the wearer has been arrested, tried and sentenced for some breach of the law of the land.

The law breakers of to-day hope to be the law makers of to-morrow, or, at any rate, to be the means of introducing in their country a wider sense of government as they see it, and having suffered for their convictions they are not ashamed to proclaim the fact to the world.—*Christian Science Monitor*.

CAMPAIGN THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY.

W.S.P.U. General Offices: 4, Clement's Inn, Strand, W.C.

BALHAM AND TOOTING.

Many thanks to members who contributed towards Nurse Pitfield's wreath. Regret time was too short to let all know. For Albert Hall tickets please apply Miss Havers, 7, Saintoin Road, to whom all communications may be addressed in Secretary's absence.

BARNET.

Best thanks Mrs. Coleman for very pleasant and successful "At Home" held Thursday, August 1; speaker, Mrs. Dacre Fox.—(Hon. Sec.—Miss Maud Mace, "Selborne," Hadley.)

HANMERSMITH.

Many messages of sympathy and tributes to the character of our brave comrade, Nurse Pitfield, have been received during the week. Thanks to Mrs. Purdy, Miss Wynne, Miss Hunt, Miss Fell, Miss McKay, Miss Chaffey, Miss Buebell, Mrs. Rowe, Mrs. and the Misses Underwood, Miss Rynner, Mr. Maddox, and other subscribers for the wreath sent by this Union in memory of a beloved fellow-worker. Don't forget jumble sale to-morrow (Saturday) at 2.30. Help is requested; more parcels will be gratefully received.—(Hon. Sec.—Miss Haarbletcher, 85, The Grove.)

ILFORD.

Good meetings held during past week; numbers of papers sold. Secretary expects to return Thursday, August 15, and will be glad to hear from members who are thinking of holiday-making with regard to paper selling.—(Hon. Sec.—Miss Haslam, 68, Cranbrook Road.)

KINGSTON AND DISTRICT.

Will all members save jumbles for autumn rummage sale? Opportunity now to send articles finished. Parcels can be stored at office. Urgent appeal. Molesey meeting splendid. Mrs. Dacre Fox spoke in unavoidable absence of Miss Richards; Mrs. Heard chaired. Much sympathy from huge crowd; papers sold out. Thanks to members who supported. Paper sellers wanted during holiday month. Musical members required for Dutch Market. All who can give services urgently asked to do so. Use of gramophone also wanted. Who will help? Members asked to send articles for White Elephant Stall, Dutch Market, to office at once. Organiser thanks all those who have responded to refreshment circular. Others please follow. Gratefully acknowledged: Mrs. Bessell, 1s.; Mrs. Kendrew, 2s. 6d.; Mrs. Doherty, 6d.—(Hon. Sec.—Mrs. Dacre Fox. Office—13, Union Street, Kingston-on-Thames.)

STREATHAM.

Will members kindly save old things for jumble sale which it is hoped to hold soon after holidays? Home-made cakes, jam, sweets, &c., much appreciated. Many thanks to those members who have so kindly responded to appeal. Do not forget to apply at once for Albert Hall tickets; very few left.—(Hon. Sec.—Miss L. Tyson. Office—5, Shrubbery Road.)

WIMBLEDON.

Sunday meetings on Common will be discontinued for the first two Sundays in September only (see programme weekly). Last Sunday's meeting, addressed by Mrs. Lamartine Yates and Miss Peck, most successful; papers sold out. Will sellers try to attend these meetings during holidays, so that sales may not diminish? Wimbledon was represented at Nurse Pitfield's funeral by Mrs. Lamartine Yates; flowers in the colours were placed on coffin at graveside. Will members collect jumbles for sale, which will take place soon after holidays? Parcels may be sent from now onwards to Dorset Hall for storage; must be marked "Jumble." Men and children's things specially needed. Albert Hall tickets should be secured at once; absent members book by post. Photos of garden meeting should be claimed soon. Arrangements can be made for forwarding paper to members on holiday if they will give full particulars at shop. "Veda" bread can also be forwarded by previous arrangement. Let no member forget to take supply of special propaganda soap with her on holiday. All new recruits for selling at pitches should apply to Miss Lee, who will be in charge throughout August. Stewards have gallantly come forward to assist Miss Wheeler in keeping the shop open full time and late on Saturdays. Some members are not forgetting to put their weekly hall collection into collection-box at shop. Will all do this and surprise Treasurer with big final total!—(Hon. Sec.—Mrs. Lamartine Yates. Shop—8, Victoria Crescent, Broadway. Tel. 1022 P.O. Wimbledon.)

Home Counties.

BEKHILL-ON-SEA.

Members wanted to help with shop and paper selling during August. New subscribers were gained for VOTES FOR WOMEN. Gratefully acknowledged: Miss Morden, 210.—(Org.—Miss M. S. Allen. W.S.P.U. Shop—Marina.)

BOURNEMOUTH.

Will members send contributions towards box of things that this Union will send to Christmas bazaar.—(Hon. Sec.—Miss B. Berry, 221, Old Christchurch Road.)

BRIGHTON, HOVE, AND DISTRICT.

Splendid meetings addressed Miss Kelly at weekend. Many thanks to Mrs. Gatty for speaking at protest meeting last Thursday. Paper sellers urgently needed. Will every member take some part in holiday campaign; particulars can be obtained at office? Many thanks to Miss O. Clapson for undertaking paper sales at Rottingdean. The help of other members spending holidays in locality will be greatly appreciated. Meetings on sea front (opposite Bedford Hotel) Wednesdays, Saturdays 5.30 p.m., Sundays 11.30 a.m.—(Org.—Miss G. Allen. Office—8, North Street.)

CANTERBURY AND SOUTH KENT.

Mr. Pethick Lawrence will speak Foresters' Hall, Canterbury, October 23. Will members please note and advertise date? Miss Helen Nicoll, Avenue Mansion, West Leas, Folkestone, has kindly undertaken to give information and sell literature during organiser's holiday. Members holiday-making asked to keep Christmas presents' stall in mind, wherever they may be, and to collect useful and original gifts.—(Org.—Miss F. E. M. Macaulay, Trevarra, 30, Bouverie Road West, Folkestone.)

EASTBOURNE.

Large meeting on beach. Speaker, Miss Haslam, to whom many thanks for help whilst on holiday. Miss Sibella Jones presided. Audience deeply interested. A paper seller had to give her for one copy of VOTES FOR WOMEN to a gentleman, with advice to "keep the change to go towards price of hatchet."—(Org.—Miss M. S. Allen, 10, Southfields Road.)

HASTINGS AND ST. LEONARDS.

Record number of VOTES FOR WOMEN sold this week in spite of bad weather, thanks to energetic sellers, and new subscribers gained by Miss Hogg. Gratefully acknowledged: Mrs. Bowerman Chibnall, 25, being 10s. for each week of Mrs. Pankhurst's imprisonment; Miss Schwarz, book shelves and pegs for coats; Mrs. Sieveking, table.—(Org.—Miss M. S. Allen, 8, Claremont.)

HYTHE.

The shop most successful, many visitors passing through Folkestone and Hythe have paid it a visit and offered help. Miss Edwards (lately released from Holloway) and her sister sold number of VOTES FOR WOMEN Bank Holiday. Thanks to kindness of Miss Ainsworth, good many papers sold on front; also to Nurse Intham, who has undertaken to sell during her time off duty. It is earnestly hoped no visitor will leave either Folkestone or Hythe without a visit and helping on work. The club has also met with much encouragement; several new members having lately joined. Anyone desirous of information may write Miss Lewis, Cravenhurst, Napier Gardens, or call any morning at shop.

FORTHAMOUTH AND SOUTHAMPTON.

Good meeting Common Friday, August 3. Speaker, Mrs. Burman. Many thanks to Miss Wallis for donation 2s. 6d.—(Hon. Sec.—Miss L. Peacock, 4, Pelham Road, Southsea.)

WORTHING.

Fine, rousing speech by Mr. Reginald Pott attracted very large crowd. VOTES FOR WOMEN sold out; good collection.—(Hon. Sec.—Miss Tarrant, 11, Liverpool Terrace.)

West of England.

BATH.

Open-air campaign has been most successful. Miss Wylie addressed large crowds Chippensham, Bath, Corsham, Box, Frome. Paper sellers wanted at these places to keep up interest aroused. As campaign expenses have been rather heavy, sympathisers and members in each town are appealed to for help. On Bank Holiday several members drove round Bath in decorated wagonette and sold paper to crowds. Shop closed during August.—(Hon. Secs.—The Misses Tollemache. Shop—12, Walcot Street.)

BRISTOL.

Splendid meetings held this week. Speaker Mrs. Bouvier. Many thanks to her for giving holiday to help local work. For meetings see programme. A few Albert Hall tickets still on sale at shop. Gratefully acknowledged: Morris Fowler, Esq., 25; collection, 3s. 11d.; sale of egg steamer (per Mrs. Dove-Willcox), 15s.—(Hon. Org.—Mrs. Dove-Willcox. Office—37, Queen's Road, Clifton.)

CORNWALL.

At Perranporth three members had excellent sale of VOTES FOR WOMEN Bank Holiday; most sympathetic reception. Disapproval of militancy changing into interest and respect on discovery that sellers were window-breakers!—(Hon. Sec.—Miss Edith Williams, Glenafon, Devoran, R.S.O.)

HEREFORDSHIRE.

Paper selling continues. Mrs. Davis would be glad if any member would take her place at this work while she is away for two weeks in Septem

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Soap Makers by Appointment
to H.M. King George V.

her. Members are fortunate in getting Lady Isabel Hampden, Marguerite to speak at "At Home" in September. Further particulars later. (Hon. Sec.—Mrs. Davis, 7, The Cloisters, Hereford.)

ILFRACOMBE AND BARNSTAPLE.

More paper sellers required, especially on Regatta Day, August 22. Sale of paper increasing. (Hon. Sec.—Mrs. du Sautoy Newby, "St. Mary's," Broad Park Avenue.)

NEWPORT.

Gratefully acknowledged:—Mrs. Wright, 55; Mrs. Morle, 28, 6d. Jumbles should be sent Miss Watts, The Friars, without delay. Garden Fête, Llanwrn Park, September 18. More goods needed for members' stall. (Hon. Sec.—Mrs. Mackworth, Office—11, Stow Hill.)

TORQUAY AND PAIGNTON.

Papers selling well. Two meetings Torquay, one at Paignton; well attended. Many thanks to visitors who helped members with paper selling. Will workers in neighbourhood of Torquay or Newton Abbott communicate with Miss G. Allen, Waverley, 8, Margaret's Road, S. Marychurch?

Wales.

PONTYPOOL AND GRIFFITHSTOWN.

Pontypool Town Hall booked for November 6. Abergavenny Town Hall November 5 for Mr. Pethick Lawrence's visit. (Hon. Sec.—Miss Lillian M. Wilton, Trefloyd, Pontypool.)

Eastern Counties.

CAMBRIDGE.

Mrs. Brailsford's meeting, Masonic Hall, most successful; much interest aroused; resolution carried with three dissentients. Special thanks to Miss Pryor, Miss Roff, and Miss Bullock for selling fifty papers during organiser's two days' absence; 165 papers sold this week, although weather greatly against sales. Please make to-day's meeting (see programme) widely known. (Org.—Miss Grace Roe, 7, Mill Road.)

CLACTON-ON-SEA.

Garden meeting arranged for August 20 (see programme). Invitation cards can be obtained at shop. More help needed for paper selling. Volunteers who can give only one hour a week would be of great assistance, especially as two sellers are away. Good sale effected last week, 160 copies being sold. (Hon. Sec.—Miss Kate Lilley, Holland House.)

FELIXSTOWE.

Papers going splendidly, but Miss Löwy would be glad if a few more women staying in Felixstowe would either sell in street or canvass with paper. Last week's meeting great success; it is hoped all members will make next Tuesday's meeting known to their friends (see programme). (Org.—Miss Grace Roe, Hon. Sec.—Miss Ethel Löwy, Woodcroft, Bath Road.)

IPSWICH AND DISTRICT.

By kind invitation of Mrs. Douglas-Reid most successful "At Home" held last Thursday; Miss Decima Moore delighted her audience. Miss Kathleen Jarvis also spoke; both speeches being well reported in *East Anglian Daily Times*. Many thanks to Mrs. B. S. King for promise of jam for shop; Miss King appeals to members and friends to help shop sales in this way. (Org.—Miss Grace Roe, Shop Sec.—Miss King, Shop—Dial Lane.)

North-Eastern Counties.

DONCASTER.

Members keep jumbles for sale. At Homes will be arranged in autumn to work up a big meeting later on. Members and sympathisers look out in these pages for further notices. (Org.—Miss Key Jones, Colby Chambers, Coppergate, York. Tel. 692.)

LEEDS AND DISTRICT.

Owing to absence of members on holidays office will be closed during August. Mrs. Walter Dodgson and Miss Palmer hope to carry on paper selling campaign in Whitby and district August 26 for two weeks, and would be glad of help from members staying near, or of donations, towards expenses. Please communicate with either of above at Post Office, Hawsker, near Whitby. A large meeting is in contemplation for the early autumn, to be addressed by one of our Leaders. Subscriptions for August are now due, and should be sent to the Treasurer without delay. (Hon. Sec.—Miss C. Palmer, Office—3, Cookridge Street.)

SCARBOROUGH.

Very enthusiastic meeting held North Side Saturday evening. Miss Cassie Wilcox, of Newcastle, speaker. Papers found very ready sale. Miss Henwood would be glad of orders for home-made sandwich cakes. Many thanks for gift of cakes for shop. Members don't forget rummage sale. (Hon. Sec., *pro tem.*—Miss V. Hudson Hardy, 33, St. Nicholas Cliff.)

SHEFFIELD AND DISTRICT.

Miss A. Suffield has kindly promised to speak at open-air meetings last week in August. Will members call at shop for bills for distribution? Volunteers also wanted for chalking. Who will volunteer to mind the shop during dinner-hours? Mr. Pethick Lawrence will speak Tuesday, October 23; everything must be done to give him a rousing welcome. Albert Hall tickets, price 2s. 6d., can be had at shop; orders for other tickets taken. Suggestions and offers of help for winter work will be welcomed. (Hon. Sec.—Miss Coxhill, Shop—26-28, Chapel Walk.)

YORK.

Members keep your old clothes, &c., for jumble sale. The organiser will be away until September 8. During that time office will be open Saturdays only. Miss Fairweather and Miss Agnes Suffield will organise country meetings, which had to be postponed owing to bad weather. Members are urged to help them. Festival Concert Rooms taken for October 22 for Mrs. Pethick Lawrence's meeting. All members wanted after holidays to help to advertise this meeting widely. Members will be glad to see Mrs. Coulstake back at her "Votes" pitch after her well-deserved holiday. Will more members offer help in this splendid part of work. (Org.—Miss Key Jones, Colby Chambers, Coppergate. Tel. 692.)

North-Western Counties.

LIVERPOOL AND DISTRICT.

Open-air meetings held last week in Liverpool and Birkenhead; papers sold at both. Office closed until further notice, except Fridays, 10-5. (Org.—Miss Alice Davies, Office—11, Renshaw Street.)

MANCHESTER.

It has been decided to hold procession Saturday September 7, prior to demonstration on Platt Fields, Rusholme. As this is a big undertaking and needs enormous amount of work, local members asked to help all in their power by giving as much time as possible during next few weeks. A group of workers wanted to take full charge of each district. All members urged to attend members' meeting this Friday evening for fuller information. A special fund has been opened to cover by-election expenses. Mrs. Ratcliffe will welcome contributions as early as possible. (Hon. Sec.—Miss K. Wallwork, 32, King Street.)

ROCHEDALE.

Splendid meeting held Town Hall Square Sunday, Miss Billing speaker. Miss Woodcock spoke two weeks ago, and had good meeting. Members asked to join in Manchester procession and demon-

stration Saturday afternoon, September 7. All who can march under coopedale banner asked to send in their names to Secretary as soon as possible. (Hon. Sec.—Miss V. Walker, 1, Aubrey Street.)

URMSTON AND FLITTON.

Meeting held Fair Ground Friday, August 9. Speaker, Miss Evelyn Billing, Nurse Griffin in the chair. There was splendid attendance, mostly sympathetic. Resolutions demanding woman's inclusion (on the same terms as men) in the Reform Bill carried by vast majority. Mrs. Drummond will speak on August 23.

MEETING AT SKYE

An interesting meeting was held Temperance Hall, Dunvegan, Friday, August 9. Miss Wright, Hon. Organiser of New Constitutional Society, presided. Miss Mina Sheppard (who held a three months' campaign here two years ago) and Miss Blacklock (one of the late prisoners in Winslow Gaol) were the speakers. Miss Blacklock stated that she was always being asked two questions, "Why did you do it?" and "Why break innocent tradesmen's windows?" These two questions she answered with such clearness that no one out of the large audience could fail to understand the reasonableness of militant tactics. A great many leaflets were distributed by Miss Gladys Wright.

CLERKS' W.S.P.U.

Members' meeting will be arranged and plans made for autumn campaign directly holidays are over. W.S.P.U. members who are clerks asked to send in names. Jumbles may be sent Miss Casserley, 347, Goswell Road, E.C., marked "Clerks' W.S.P.U." (Hon. Sec.—Miss Cynthia Maguire, 39, Priory Road, West Hampstead; Miss P. A. Ayrton, 62, Edith Road, West Kensington.)

THE CATHOLIC W.S. SOCIETY.

Most successful meeting recently held Norwich unofficially during National Catholic Congress, Miss Abadam chief speaker. Audience included large number of priests, who seemed deeply impressed by Miss Abadam's logic and eloquence. Much excellent propaganda work was done by members attending Congress, who canvassed many influential clergy and laity, and lost no opportunity in bringing the cause of Women's Suffrage prominently before delegates. All members testified to

MEETINGS THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY

August	...	Bristol, Midland Road	...	Miss Elsa Myers	...	8 p.m.
Friday, 16	...	Cambridge, Market Place	...	Miss Georgina Braekensbury	...	8 p.m.
"	...	Worthing Beach	...	Mrs. Zangwill	...	5.30 p.m.
Saturday, 17	...	Birkenhead, Haymarket	...	Miss Woodcock	...	8 p.m.
"	...	Bristol, Station Road, Montpellier	...	Miss Elsa Myers	...	8 p.m.
"	...	Cambridge, Market Place	...	W.S.P.U. Stall	...	10 a.m. to 4 p.m.
"	...	Sunderland, Park Lane, Homeside	...	Miss Sidney Brown, Miss P. Rickards	...	8 p.m.
Monday, 19	...	Bristol, London Inn	...	Miss Elsa Myers	...	8 p.m.
Tuesday, 20	...	Bristol, Clifton Vale	...	Miss Elsa Myers	...	8 p.m.
"	...	Clacton, Holland House	...	Garden Meeting, Mrs. Richmond	...	3 p.m.
"	...	Felixstowe, opposite Roseberry Hotel	...	Mrs. Armstrong	...	3 p.m.
"	...	Ipswich, Cornhill	...	Mrs. Armstrong	...	8 p.m.
Wednesday, 21	...	Bristol, Durdham Down	...	Miss Elsa Myers	...	8 p.m.
Thursday, 22	...	Bristol, St. George's Park	...	Miss Elsa Myers	...	7.30 p.m.
Friday, 23	...	Bristol, Horse Fair	...	Miss Elsa Myers	...	8 p.m.

LONDON MEETINGS FOR THE FORTHCOMING WEEK

August	...	Holloway Prison	...	Demonstration	...	8 p.m.
Saturday, 17	...	Hilford, Balfour Road	...	Miss Peck	...	8 p.m.
"	...	Lewisham, 3a, Loampit Vale	...	Members' Rally	...	3-5 p.m.
"	...	Wandsworth Prison, corner of Trinity Road	
Sunday, 18	...	Woodford Green	...	Miss Harvey	...	7.30 p.m.
"	...	Regent's Park	...	Miss Haslam, Chair: Miss Kelly	...	6 p.m.
Monday, 19	...	Wimbledon Common	...	Miss Haslam, Chair: Miss Kelly	...	6 p.m.
Wednesday, 21	...	Wandsworth (near Prison)	...	Miss Haslam, Mrs. Shaw, Mr. Shaw	...	8 p.m.
Thursday, 22	...	East Ham, The Cook	...	Miss Haslam	...	8 p.m.
"	...	Wandsworth (near Prison)	...	Miss Gwen Richard, Mr. E. Duval, and others	...	8 p.m.

Royal Albert Hall, London, Thursday, October 17, 8 p.m.

the cordiality and friendliness with which they were received. The Hon. Treasurer, Miss Whately, who is staying at "Sunny Side," York Road, Baticombe, South Devon, will be glad if Catholic Suffragists in neighbourhood will write or call on her. She is anxious to arrange meeting during holidays. (Sec.—Miss G. Jeffery, Office—55, Berners Street, Oxford Street, W.)

FREE CHURCH LEAGUE FOR W.S.

A branch has recently been formed at Oxford. Dr. Estlin Carpenter, who accepted the Presidency, kindly allowed the use of Manchester College for two inaugural meetings, at which the Rev. C. Fleming Williams was chief speaker. Among Vice-Presidents are five local Nonconformist ministers. (Local Sec.—Mrs. Underhill, 15, St. Clement's, Oxford.)

AUSTRALIAN AND N.Z. WOMEN VOTERS ASSOCIATION (LONDON)

Sunday, August 18, meeting Hyde Park (Marble Arch), 3.30 to 6 p.m. to explain objects and work of above Association. Speakers, Mrs. C. Merivale Mayer, Miss Margaret Hodge, Australians and New Zealanders visiting London specially invited.

MEN'S POLITICAL UNION

For Women's Emancipation

Excellent, well-attended meetings held last week near Wandsworth Prison to protest against Mr. Charles Gray's sentence. Speakers, Miss Green, Mrs. Band, Lieut. Cathers, R.N., and Mr. Furniss; many thanks to them for their services, which were much appreciated. For further meetings see programme. The Hon. Treasurer wishes to reiterate his urgent appeal for contributions towards funds and funds. This will meet with a generous response. The autumn campaign will necessitate a full War Chest, and it is upon the generosity of supporters that this campaign must depend. Already acknowledged: £1,597.1s. 6d.; Mrs. M. C. Moore, 1s.; G. H. McCarthy, Esq., 1s. 6d.; Miss L. Lawless, 2s. 6d.; Miss A. E. Worrell and Miss Key, 5s.; H. Inglis, Esq., 1s. 6d.; collection, open-air meeting, Wandsworth, 8.6d.; membership fees, 5s.; sundry receipts, 10s. 11d. Gray Defence Fund: A Member of the W.S.P.U., 1s.; An Edinburgh Suffragette, 10s.; Mrs. G. E. R. Ireland, 10s. Total, £1,599.10s. 7d. (Hon. Sec.—Victor D. Duval, Office—13, Buckingham Street, Strand, W.C.)

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LEARN SWEDISH MASSAGE. It is better paid than any other work. The fees a fully qualified Masseuse commands vary from 7s. 6d. to 21s. per visit, and eight to ten patients can be visited per day. Pupils can attend the School either daily or in their spare time. If you have one tenth of the energy of one of your Leaders you will find the training the best investment you ever made. Besides making a large income your time is your own. The fee for the complete course is only six guineas. If you are interested in your own future, call and see Matron, or write for full particulars to Matron, Harley House, 66, Paddington Street, W. —[ADVT.]

SPEAKERS' CLASS.

Hon. Eloquence Mistress—Miss Rosa Leo, 45, Ashworth Mansions, Elgin Avenue, W. Hon. Sec.—Miss Hale, 4, Clement's Inn, W.C.

There will be no more public classes until the autumn, but Miss Leo will hold private classes at 45, Ashworth Mansions, on Tuesday and Friday afternoons, at 3 p.m., during August. If sufficient applications are made. Names should be sent in to her at above address without delay.

MEN'S LEAGUE FOR W.S.

The address of the above League is now 136, St. Stephen's House, Westminster, S.W., instead of 159, as formerly.

ILFRACOMBE

A garden meeting will be held on Wednesday, August 21, at 1, Larkstone Villas, Ilfracombe, from 4 to 6 p.m. Dr. Christine Murrell will be the speaker, and the chair will be taken by the hostess, Miss Ball. Will local members make an effort to be present, and to bring their friends?

"PUTTING BACK THE CLOCK" IN KENSINGTON

The Kensington W.S.P.U. was one of the earliest local Unions to start selling VOTES FOR WOMEN in the street, and it now has twenty-three regular papersellers on its list of members. This is a goodly number, and the Union is particularly proud of having increased its sales this year, having sold 10,934 copies between March 1 and July 29. The total for the same period in 1911 was 9,562; therefore 1,372 more papers have been bought in this district this year, from W.S.P.U. sellers alone, during the four months in which (as so many people assert) the W.S.P.U. has been occupied in killing the clock!

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Serge Coat & Skirt 2 2 0
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SPECIAL ANNOUNCEMENTS.

(Property found at W.S.P.U. meetings should be sent to Miss Kerr, 4, Clement's Inn, W.C.)

FOUND at Albert Hall Meeting, June 15.—Umbrella, small folding fan, and gold safety pin.—Apply Miss Kerr, 4, Clement's Inn, W.C.

GIVEN TO BE SOLD FOR THE FUNDS:—

Real Indian table-cloth, 38in by 38in, embroidered in Union's colours on white linen 1 5 0
Ditto, 40in by 40in, embroidered on white lawn 0 15 0
Ditto, 37in by 38in, embroidered on white calico 0 8 0
Handsome silk tea or dinner jacket (genuine Chinese) 2 2 0
Gold and coral brooch 1 0 0
Gold and turquoise scarf-pin 0 10 6
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Antique hand-painted miniature (in oval gold frame) 2 2 0
Apply, Mrs. Sanders, W.S.P.U., 4, Clement's Inn, W.C.

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TWO LADIES (gardening, poultry-farming) receive Paying Guests. Charming house; croquet; lovely moorland country; good sketching, cycling; open-air swimming-bath. Terms—30s.—Leslie-Carrington, Coughlin Cottage, Verwood, Dorset.

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A CHARMING old Cottage to Let, furnished, from August 23; 2 sitting, 4 bedrooms.—E. Bracewell, Cousley Wood, Wadhurst, Sussex.

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CHARMING detached Cottages and Houses, built in historic park of 800 acres, adjoining magnificent golf course; 25 minutes from City; good gardens; prices from £335; easy instalments; rent from £12.—Write (or call) to-day for free illustrated descriptive booklet. House and Cottage Department, Gidea Park, Ltd., 53, Henrietta Street, Strand, W.C.

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WANTED, early in September, for Surrey, Housemaid, about eighteen years of age, second of two; also young girl to learn in private laundry. Good characters required.—Miss Morgan Brown, Little Holland, Clacton-on-Sea.

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A PROFITABLE, Healthful Holiday for Girls, train for poultry and dairy farming at farm. Special holiday terms. Send to-day for free book.—Mrs. Dutton, Springhall Farm, Sawbridge, Wiltshire, Herts.

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POULTRY FARM.—Vacancy for Students; variety of breeds stocked; utility and exhibition.—M. and F. Spong, The Felbridge Poultry Farm, East Grinstead.

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ANTISEPTIC ELECTROLYSIS scientifically and effectually performed. It is the only permanent cure for Superfluous Hair. Highest medical references. Special terms to those engaged in teaching, clerical work, &c. Consultation free.—Miss Marion Lindsay, 35, Cambridge Place, Norfolk Square, W. Telephone: 337 Mayfair.

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